Christmas Prizes—*an Editorial*

THE *Nation*

December 24, 1949

MacArthur Says No

How The Nation's *Correspondent Was Kept Out of Japan*

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Perón Cracks the Whip

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

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'he Uneasy Arabs - - - - - - - - - *Constantine Poulos*

'hiang's Washington Front - - - - - - - *Malcolm Hobbs*

'iff Phillips—Fair Deal Millionaire - - *Carey McWilliams*

'ome: The Holy Year Begins - - - - - *Anthony Bower*

Ian Bites Dog: Press Comment - - - - - *Jerry Tallmer*

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THE Nation

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

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Christmas Prizes

NOBODY, we are reasonably certain, thinks of us as a curmudgeon just because we occasionally point out a flaw in an erring fellow-creature. But just to prove we are no such thing, we herewith present holiday awards to those who during the year we may gently have chided:

To *Fulton Lewis, Jr.*, who has done so much to promote imaginative fiction on the radio—an engraved copy of "Roll, Jordan, Roll."

To *Senator Patrick McCarran*, who reports that the D. P. camps of Europe are good enough for their tenants—a long lease on a Quonset hut to be built for displaced Senators.

To *President Juan Perón*, whose popularity has lately required reinforcement by strong-arm methods—the free and invaluable counsel of former Ambassador Spruille Braden, who seems to have known the country.

To *John Foster Dulles*, whose statesman's toga got soiled in the November campaign—a collection of the Lincoln-Douglas debates, with diagrams to show the difference between making history and hysteria.

To the *American Medical Association*, which is running a high fever—a carload of aspirin and absolute quiet.

To *Senator Bourke B. Hickenlooper*, who can't tolerate inefficiency of any sort—a job under David E. Lilienthal as soon as a dozen private enterprises learn which of them is to win the benefit of his "incredible mismanagement."

To *Prime Minister D. F. Malan*, who suggests that his racist government may have to "protect the aborigines" of Southwest Africa against the "interference mania" of the U. N.—a certificate of honorary membership in the Dixiecrats personally signed by John Rankin.

To *General Harry H. Vaughan*, officially aide to the President but politically no aid at all—a uniform adapted to the quick change of temperature required for sudden shifts from deep freezes to hot water.

To *Senator Elmer Thomas*, who is still down on the Swedes for not paying him the homage due to a Capitol Junketeer—transfer of his seat to Minnesota.

To *Generalissimo Francisco Franco*, whose hopes for respectability have been raised unduly by wandering Congressmen—an invitation to attend any American labor convention and observe for himself the esteem in which he is held.

To *Andrei Vishinsky*, who found the conviction of eleven American Communist leaders a "violation of human rights"—a transcript of the Moscow trials of the mid-thirties, in which prosecutor A. Vishinsky gave Russia's political dissidents the human right to confess before being shot.

To *Westbrook Pegler*, who has discovered that living persons, unlike ghosts, can sue for libel—an up-to-the-minute necrology from which to select targets for the coming year.

To these recipients, cited at random out of a few score, go our ever hopeful greetings. To the hundreds of millions who rate no prize go our fraternal wishes for a happy holiday and the prospect of peace.

The Shape of Things

BECAUSE THEIR PRIMARY OBJECTIVE WAS the admission of Andrew Roth to Japan, the editors of *The Nation* have remained silent for nearly a year in the face of military arrogance and dictatorship. The statement on page 609 of this issue details the successive stages of the process by which this working newspaperman was tried in absentia, found guilty of unstated charges, and sentenced to exclusion from Japan. Seemingly, Roth's sin lay in his uncompromising independence. It is hard to find other grounds for his banning. Andrew Roth needs no defense by *The Nation*. He is a capable, honest reporter who has been on top of and ahead of the news in the Far East for three years. He predicted that the Dutch would take unilateral "police" action in Indonesia more than two months before they actually did last December. His book, "Dilemma in Japan," expressed fears about the results of American policy in Japan which have been more than borne out. He has been, to our mind, the best kind of representative that the American press could have in the Far East. It is intolerable that because he has expressed strong disagreement with General MacArthur he should be banned from further on-the-spot reporting in Japan. If this ban

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is upheld, then the United States cannot go on claiming in the United Nations and elsewhere that our country stands for freedom of access for reporters the world over.

⁎

ONLY TWO MORE MONTHS NOW AND THE Republican Party will have a policy, with principles and everything. In casting about for reasons to explain the party's periodic disasters, some of the leaders recently came up with the idea that perhaps a program would help. Guy Gabrielson, the national chairman, thought it worth a try and sent out feelers to some 125,000 toilers in the party vineyard. On the basis of early returns he is convinced that the approach is sound, and he and his colleagues are now hard at work on a draft for the national committee's February meeting. Report has it that the response shows great antagonism to the "me-too" policy that has allegedly prevailed in the past three or four national elections. At the same time, some of the letters are said to reflect a demand for expanded social security. Arthur E. Summerfield, chairman of the strategy committee, which met in Chicago last week, is all for having the party "divest itself of 'me-tooism' and go to the people with a program clearly and unmistakably in opposition to that offered by our opponents." One would think that this was precisely the policy tried out in the ill-fated campaign of John Foster Dulles in November, but the strategists seem to feel that the whole question is one of semantics. Thus Senator Taft, appreciating the futility of attacking the "welfare state," is prepared to attack the "handout state" instead. But even here the usually dogmatic Senator from Ohio is a bit woolly. He favors "some government assistance" to farmers in order to give them "an equality of position" with business, some public housing, some subsidies to industry and transportation, and some federal aid to the schools. These are not "handouts," for he wants to be regarded as a leading opponent of the "me-too" line. In short, the strategy appears to be: talk out of the right corner of your mouth to get the big contributions; out of the middle to get votes; and out of the left corner not at all.

⁎

DEVELOPMENTS IN WESTERN GERMANY cannot come as a surprise to our readers. But we confess that we never believed the renazification of Germany would be accomplished with such speed. If any one still cherishes any doubt he has only to consult the articles by Drew Middleton published during the past week or two in the New York *Times*. Three pro-Nazi groups, the German Union, the German Right Party, and the Association of Independent Germans, now drawing closer together, threaten to become stronger than the already doubtfully "democratic" coalition headed by Chancellor Adenauer. More disquieting still

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is the reappearance, under different names but with the same spirit, of the "voluntary formations" of former army officers which flourished in the early twenties, hamstringing the Weimar Republic and murdering moderate political leaders such as Erzberger and Rathenau. One of these groups, the Brotherhood (*Die Bruderschaft*), is already operating in the open without any restraint from Western occupation authorities. Just as important are certain organizations of another kind about which correspondents in Germany could not possibly report because their headquarters are in Madrid and Buenos Aires. In Madrid, under the protection of Franco, a large association has been formed which includes the numerous Nazis who fled into the country from France and Germany at the end of the war, plus those who since 1936 had been in the service of the Spanish dictator. Their funds have been transferred from the Banco Alemán Transantlántico de Madrid to Argentina, where the vigilance of the Allied intelligence services can more easily be eluded. Paralleling this action, the Nazis in Buenos Aires have lately been reorganized on a grand scale; we shall soon print a full report of their names and their activities.

*

HOW IRRESPONSIBLE CAN AN INDUSTRIAL behemoth be? We are glad that Senator O'Mahoney intends to put that question to the directors of United States Steel, who have just announced price increases averaging $4 a ton. Their move will of course be followed by the rest of the industry, which always accepts the "price leadership" of Big Steel. And although the actual addition to costs of most steel users will not be very great, it may have a strong psychological influence on prices generally. There is quite a little inflationary tinder lying around, and a few sparks like this can easily start a price conflagration. President Benjamin Fairless of Big Steel, however, disregarded these implications of the corporation's decision. He justified the increase by referring to "substantially higher costs," especially those resulting from the recent strike settlement. (He failed to mention that some steel costs, notably that of scrap, are much lower than a year ago.) Just how much the pension and insurance plan will cost Mr. Fairless refuses to say, but the estimate of outside experts is not more than $3 a ton. We suspect, therefore, that the real reason for the increase in prices is not so much costs as the current very heavy demand for steel, a demand accentuated, of course, by the strike. No doubt the traffic can temporarily be made to bear the additional burden for the benefit of United States Steel's profits, which in the first nine months of this year were already 50 per cent higher than in the corresponding period of 1948. But in the long run this policy of grab may prove contrary to the interests of the corporation's owners. Taking advantage of temporary shortages is not the best way to secure the high, stable rate of output on which the permanent prosperity of the industry depends.

*

NATIONAL SECURITY WITHOUT MILITARISM is something that all but a handful of Americans must want desperately, but until last week it might fairly be said that only on the political extremes was the relationship getting much attention. On the far right security and militarism are held to be inseparable; government's prime purpose is to prepare for the more or less inevitable war with Russia, to which end social-welfare programs must be curtailed, secrecy enforced, and political dissidence suppressed. On the other side the followers of Henry Wallace appear to believe that the cold war itself can be ended overnight by an act of will on our part, and that only in this way can we stop the plunge down the slope to the garrison state. Those of us who fear the menace of militarism at home and still recognize the enormous complexities of our relations with Russia—after all, the success of political democracy in capitalist America is not among the Soviet objectives—will be heartened by the report of the Committee for Economic Development on "National Security and Our Individual Freedom." Here is a group representing some of the biggest industrial and banking concerns in the country devoting itself to the national dilemma, genuinely concerned over "the great increase in the role of the military in our government," and prepared with a program to check it without jeopardizing the national security. To these leaders of enlightened capitalism security is "only partly a matter of rearmament"; it is also a healthy economy, "welfare programs [for] reducing inequities in our system," effective diplomacy, an "alert and responsible citizenry" fortified by information and the freedom to debate, and a revamped National Security Council strengthened by civilian members whose function it would be to integrate the security program with the social and political needs of a democratic people. If the recommendations are not as concrete as they might be, the report is none the less a far-reaching contribution and a tribute to the good-will of its authors.

*

CERTAINLY THE MORE CANDID ATTITUDE prevailing toward sex education for children of grammar-school age has made it easier for teachers to handle the subject. Along with this, new and extremely helpful teaching methods have been introduced, such as documentary films. These films have been checked by competent medical, religious, and educational authorities. Realizing that a certain number of parents would object to having their children view such movies, school supervisors have generally polled the parents to determine the

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sentiment of the community. If a majority approved, a film was shown, but children could be excused on the request of their parents. The New York State Department of Health recently distributed prints of the excellent film "Human Growth" for permissive use in the public schools. This act has been condemned by the state's Catholic Welfare Committee as a usurpation of parental prerogatives in the field of sex education. In rejecting the demand that he cease distributing the film Health Commissioner Herman E. Hilleboe firmly restated his policy in words which we think might be useful to other officials, similarly attacked. "If large groups of non-Catholic parents and teachers wish to show these films," he said, ". . . the [Health] Department should meet these demands. . . . [The department proposes] to use its scientific knowledge to help parents who seek our assistance in bringing health information to their children . . . whether they are Catholic, Protestant, or Jewish." All convinced democrats, we are sure, will be disturbed by the answer of Bishop Joseph F. Flanelly to Dr. Hilleboe's statement. Such a policy, said the Roman Catholic prelate, might result in a public official bowing down to "a vociferous mob or group which wanted to impose something on this country."

*

THE SOUTH AND THE WEST ARE SWITCHING basic crops. The livestock industry of the Southwest, based upon the use of extensive range lands, is gradually shifting to the South, where smaller stock farms are proving more efficient. On the other hand, cotton growing is rapidly moving from the South to the Southwest, with major social, economic, and political results. This year California, Texas, Arizona, and New Mexico will produce 7,636,000 bales of cotton, or almost 50 per cent of the country's total. California will rank fourth among the cotton-producing states, after Texas, Arkansas, and Mississippi in the order named. As *The Nation* pointed out earlier this year (Cotton in California, February 19, 1949), the Southern states, which rely largely upon hand labor, are finding it extremely difficult to compete with the mechanized technique of the Southwest. This year the states east of the Mississippi, long the chief cotton region of the world, will produce slightly less than 30 per cent of the nation's crop. A basic factor, of course, in this regional shift has been the government's policy of supporting the price of cotton at 90 per cent of parity. The estimated carry-over for 1949 is expected to be about 8,200,000 bales, an increase of 2,800,000 bales since August 1. How long will California and the other Western states, with their higher yields and lower costs, be able to keep up the pretext that they are entitled to benefits originally intended for the low-yield high-cost production areas of the old South?

Home-grown Rebellion

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

IF THE defections in Eastern Europe were primarily the result of Titoism—an epidemic spreading from a single source—they could perhaps be extirpated by terror. This is what the prosecutors of Rajk in Hungary and Kostov in Bulgaria tried to establish, and the two Communist leaders were hung as traitors who had conspired with the Yugoslav rebels to overthrow their own governments. This is what the Muscovite regulars in other Eastern countries have charged against various fellow-Communists now disgraced and awaiting their own turn in a Peoples' Court. The purge under way in every satellite state is based on the contention that a major conspiracy, with headquarters at Belgrade, is threatening the solid front of Soviet support.

Possibly such a movement is taking shape. Sympathy aroused by Tito's so far successful rebellion is said to be spreading in the neighboring countries, and pro-Tito sentiment has invaded the French and Italian parties. Whether this will result in permanent schism and the creation of an independent Communist international depends upon Tito's capacity to survive without losing his revolutionary franchise through concessions to the West. If the Yugoslav resistance should collapse or be defeated by Russia's implacable hostility and the offensive it is organizing throughout the Eastern bloc, the movement as such would doubtless evaporate.

But even this circumstance would not rule out the rise of a new Rajk or a new Kostov. For the Communist leaders who have fallen under Moscow's displeasure in Hungary and Bulgaria were not followers of Tito, though they attempted, in more modest fashion, to follow his example. Their dissidence grew out of events and facts in their own countries. Like Tito they discovered that "party discipline" was one thing when you were a Communist official or agitator; it took on a different aspect when you became a minister or head of state. Without questioning Stalin's right to assume leadership in the alliance of peoples' republics, they obviously came to feel that he should be "first among equals" rather than a supreme dictator. They challenged Moscow's assumption that the entire life of their countries, economic, political, and military, should be subordinated to the national interest of Russia, and that agents of the Kremlin should be given special rights of investigation and control. They believed, not unreasonably, that Stalin's favorite doctrine of "national sovereignty" should be applied to them as well as to Russia. It was for this that Rajk and Kostov died, for this that Gomulka, Polish Communist leader and former Vice Premier, will probably stand trial.

Rajk admitted the crimes of treasonable conspiracy

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and heresy in a confession so contrary at so many points to the known facts that it may have been intended to arouse suspicion among his informed comrades. In any case, as Hungarian Foreign Minister, Rajk was regarded as a tough and uncompromising Communist who at the same time insisted on defending his country's interests and his government's authority. According to well-informed observers, he did not like Tito and had made no overtures to him; Yugoslavs have told me that Rakosi was always far more friendly and ready to cooperate. Much the same story is told about Kostov. He too was a Communist whose record in the liberation fight and in the party itself—he had been a member of the Central Committee since 1924—was one of courage and rigid orthodoxy. In Bulgaria he was regarded as a national hero to the day of his arrest. Accused of plotting with Tito against Dimitrov, Kostov in fact differed with both of them. It was Dimitrov, the old Bulgarian leader now embalmed and lying in permanent state as a Soviet hero, who was close to Tito and was forced by Moscow to recant their common and sensible intention to create a federation of South Slav states.

As for Gomulka, charged by the party with a variety of offenses including the major crime of Titoism, he is also a leader with a reputation for party regularity. Certainly he is not known to have had any illicit dealings with Tito, his one form of deviation having been, to quote Critic in the *New Statesman and Nation,* to disagree "with the Cominform policy of trampling on national Communist parties when they dared to put in a word for the interests of their own countries." Recently ousted from the Central Committee of the Communist Party, he is expected to face formal indictment.

This sort of resistance is not easily ended by hanging a few leaders. For the circumstances that created it, in loyal and disciplined Communists, will do so again. Purges may succeed in terrorizing other potential rebels into temporary subservience to Moscow rule, but they cannot permanently suppress an opposition that arises from the sense of being ruthlessly exploited.

On the other hand, what other way remains open? For Russia to end its extreme pressure on the satellite states would be to admit an error so monstrous that it could hardly be lived down. Only a relaxation of the cold war and the beginning of agreement with the West would permit Moscow to retreat from the policy it has adopted to scotch rebellion among the ruling group in its own orbit.

MacArthur Says No

A STATEMENT BY THE EDITORS

ON December 26, 1948, Andrew Roth, *The Nation's* correspondent in the Far East, wrote from Shanghai asking the editors to apply for his admission to Japan. He warned us that a similar request made by him in 1947 had never been acknowledged by the army and that only upon his arrival in Shanghai, a few weeks earlier, had he learned that he had been denied entry because he was not a full-time correspondent of any one publication. His own guess as to the real reason for his exclusion was that his book, "Dilemma in Japan," had become "somewhat of a bible to the progressive opposition to General MacArthur." He went on to say that he did not believe that the ban could be upheld.

Roth was to be proved wrong. He has been banned by MacArthur; there is no present likelihood of his admission into the new Mikado's domain. After fighting a running battle with the authorities for the better part of a year, the editors of *The Nation* have decided that it is time for full disclosure of the disgraceful incident.

On January 6, 1949, *The Nation* wrote to the National Defense Establishment requesting Roth's clearance. The Accreditation Branch sent the necessary forms on January 11, assuring us that "as soon as the processing [of the forms] has been completed we will notify the Department of the Army of Mr. Roth's accreditation. The liaison section . . . will then ask the Headquarters, Far East Command, to clear your correspondent for entrance into Japan."

The forms required a declaration that the correspondent was a full-time employee of the publication seeking his accreditation. Although Roth was under contract to file regularly, he was not a full-time employee of *The Nation,* and we so informed Washington. *The Nation,* however, did assume full responsibility for Roth. On February 15 Donald S. Davis of the Accreditation Branch wrote us regretting his inability to consider Roth's application because he was not a full-time employee. (To go ahead a bit, Roth was to write on April 17 to tell us that Jack Percival, another correspondent had been accredited, although not a full-time employee. "However," continued Roth, "he is a guy who . . . sees Communists under every bush. In Indonesia he was describing the Republican government as 'Communist' a week before the Communist revolt against it.")

Realizing that the technique of the gentle brush-off had begun, we wrote at once to Roth asking for his

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suggestions for a way past this technicality. Roth by this time had moved on to Peiping, and his reply, sent on March 15, did not arrive until April 5. His suggestion that we buy up his contracts with the other newspapers and serve as a syndicating agent for him, was agreed to, and we wired Washington that same day that Mr. Roth was now on a full-time basis and therefore fulfilled the requirements. Washington was silent. Two days later we wired again, and the second wire jarred Mr. Davis into action. His reply was brief and to the point: "The subject's application has been screened carefully and I regret to inform you that under security regulations he does not qualify for accreditation to the National Military Establishment."

AFTER conferring with Roth's attorney, Colonel William A. Roberts of Washington, we resolved to fight this decision, first through Administration channels and then, if unsuccessful, in public.

We telephoned Mr. Davis for further explanation of the brief telegram. Was the basis of the refusal of accreditation the charges made against Roth some time ago—the *Amerasia* affair? No, was the answer. Then why was Roth refused accreditation? *Answer:* He does not meet the requirements set up for a military correspondent. Was a direct charge of disloyalty made against Roth? *Answer:* I am afraid I can't tell you that. His situation was considered from an over-all point of view, and it was felt that he did not meet the requirements set up. *Question:* What are the requirements for a military correspondent? *Answer:* I am afraid I can't reveal those. They are determined by more than one governmental agency.

Colonel Roberts then wrote to Secretary of Defense Johnson asking for a reversal of the decision, attaching a long and eloquent letter by Roth, pertinent excerpts of which follow:

> I have done journalistic work in twenty-five countries during the last three years. This is the first time I have ever been declared persona non grata before entry ... I believe that fundamentally the refusal to accredit me to Japan arises from my having written in 1945 a book entitled "Dilemma in Japan." ... "Dilemma in Japan" was a warning, written in 1945, against some of the policies which seem to be followed now by the United States in Japan. I was particularly fearful that the United States would link itself with the *Zaibatsu* [economic monopolists], the authoritarian bureaucracy, and large landlords.
>
> I understand ... that this is a rather accurate prediction of what has happened. I have not written upon developments in Japan since 1945 because I wanted to see conditions there under occupation for myself.
>
> I do not expect that it will be stated that I am being kept out of Japan because my views are critical. The popular tradition of free speech, free inquiry, and a free press is too strong in the United States for assaults to be made on them directly.
>
> I believe that this is an attempt to dredge up the famous "Case of the Six." In June, 1945, when I was a lieutenant in Naval Intelligence and a few days after I had submitted a draft of "Dilemma in Japan" to the naval authorities for clearance, I was arrested with five other people, allegedly for conspiring to take government documents. The others were Mark Gayn, newspaperman and author, Philip Jaffe, editor of *Amerasia,* Kate Mitchell, co-editor of *Amerasia,* John Stewart Service and E. S. Larsen, of the State Department. The charges against myself and three others were dismissed. Jaffe pleaded guilty to having government documents in his possession, and Mr. Larsen did not contend the charge he had given them to Mr. Jaffe. Both were fined, but the government made it clear that few if any of the documents had any real importance in the national defense or in the war effort, that no criminal intent had been established, and there was no evidence that any of the documents was ever put to any use harmful to the conduct of the war.
>
> Perhaps the most infuriating thing about these smears and implied smears is the assumption that conservatives and reactionaries have a monopoly on patriotism or loyalty. Actually recent world history has shown not only that there is a group in most countries whose first loyalty is to Moscow but that there is also a group whose loyalty is to their class and not to their country.
>
> As for myself, my whole and entire loyalty is to the United States, to the American people, and their democratic tradition, including the United States Constitution and its Bill of Rights. I volunteered for the navy before Pearl Harbor, and if we are in peril I'll volunteer again.
>
> My undivided loyalty to the United States does not mean that I think everything the United States does is correct. . . . As the citizen of a democracy I will battle for the right to criticize Truman as well as Stalin, to attack American policy in Greece or China just as I have criticized Soviet policies in Persia or Communist putsches in Malaya and Indonesia.
>
> As a reporter abroad I have felt it my responsibility to report objectively in order to further international understanding. I have used as a yardstick the democratic aspirations of the majority of the people in every country for a fuller and freer life.
>
> Because I have attempted to use this yardstick of appraisal uniformly I have been attacked both from the right and the extreme left. ... Actually my own preference is for a democratic form of socialism.
>
> One of the ways in which the world judges the United States is by whether our deeds are as golden as our words. ... I trust that when an American representative in the United Nations next gets up to attack the iron-curtain restrictions on press freedom it will not be possible for someone to ask, "What about the 'nylon curtain' around Japan?"

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We heard nothing from the Defense Department from May 19 until June 8, at which time Colonel Roberts's indefatigable efforts on behalf of his client finally bore fruit. Reversing the earlier decision, the National Military Establishment granted Roth full accreditation. This was confirmed in a letter dated June 10 from William Fry, assistant to Secretary Johnson. We felt that our troubles were over. They had only begun.

It seems that, in our gratification, we had overlooked the last sentence in the letter of accreditation: "Headquarters, Far East Command, clearance and a valid military entry permit will be required to enter Japan." We had ignored similar terminology back in January because we felt that it was merely a technicality and that admission following Defense Department accreditation was almost automatic. We now learned that this language was, in effect, the implementing clause for General MacArthur's veto power over decisions made in Washington.

But at the moment Roth in Hongkong and we in New York were exulting over our victory. Roth wrote from Hongkong on June 15:

> One of the reasons I feel the subject of the clearance is so important is because of the implied slur on my loyalty as an American and honesty as a reporter. To do any good any liberal or progressive must have the confidence of the people in his own country whom he is trying to reach and persuade.

The letter of accreditation had been sent to Seoul, but our peripatetic correspondent had moved to Hongkong, and in that crowded city he waited anxiously for receipt of the all-important document. Accommodations were so scarce that he had to move several times. In preparation for his impending trip he wired Tokyo late in June for future accommodations. Then our house of cards collapsed. For SCAP, put on notice by Roth's request, wired the Hongkong consulate to hold clearance pending an investigation. Foreseeing further delay, he started to move around Southeast Asia again and wrote to us from Batavia on August 4:

> So far as I know the principle was established in the Compton Pakenham case that the Department of Defense has the final authority to clear correspondents. . . . If SCAP has turned me down we'll have to make a public protest. . . .

ON August 25 Andy cabled that he had been refused a permit to enter Japan. We wired Colonel Roberts, whose assistant, Charles F. O'Neall, wrote back the same day recounting a conversation with Major C. W. Hinkle, who had replaced Davis in the Accreditation Branch:

> Major Hinkle states that he had never heard of an accredited correspondent being turned down, and even after a full review of the Roth story, he was inclined to believe that entry would be possible. He indicated that the matter could be brought to the attention of Steve Early, if necessary, but he thought that by stretching the wording of an official cable to MacArthur's headquarters, such a development would be unnecessary.
>
> Major Hinkle is, of course, at the working rather than the high-policy level and it may be that he is overoptimistic. I think, however, that there is some chance that it might work out. I have emphasized the time element and feel confident that we can get some kind of action out of that office within a few days.

The attorney advised us to write to Major Hinkle, who answered that "the army is making every effort to expedite the required information through necessary channels."

On September 10 Mr. O'Neall wrote us that the National Military Establishment's final word was that Roth would not be admitted to Japan.

> In accordance with the request contained in your letter [to Major Hinkle] MacArthur's headquarters was asked to submit justification for the refusal to admit Mr. Roth, and it is my understanding that the matter was reviewed by General MacArthur personally before it was forwarded to Washington. In Washington the matter was reviewed personally by the Chief of Staff of the army, and the position of MacArthur's headquarters was found to be acceptable to him.

This decision was conveyed to Mr. O'Neall by a Colonel Newlon, who said that no statement could be made as to the grounds for refusing Roth entry beyond the "explanation" that it was not in the interests of national security. After conferring with Colonel Roberts we decided to make a last appeal to Secretary Johnson.

Roth, who had been kept apprised of all the developments, wrote on September 28 from Batavia passing on information he had received from a friend of his in Tokyo, Hugh Dean. Dean, a correspondent for left-wing papers, indicated that SCAP intended to clean out all left sympathizers and didn't want a *Nation* correspondent around to report on such a purge. Roth concluded: "They [SCAP] don't mind so much having Dean around because he can always be labeled as the *Daily Worker* correspondent."

On October 31 we received our last direct word from the National Military Establishment, confirming the ban on the basis of autonomy granted to theater commanders: "Current regulations covering accreditation holds commanders responsible for the security of their command."

After some further exploration of the possibility of reversing this ruling by means of personal contact with high-ranking officials in Washington, we can no longer hope there will be a change of heart in Administration circles. We are publishing the facts because of our confidence that loudly voiced public indignation can still obtain Andrew Roth's admission to Japan.

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DEMOCRACY IN LATIN AMERICA—V

Perón Cracks the Whip

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

ON JANUARY 26, 1944, Argentina entered the war. On the same day the flag over the University of Tucumán was hung with black crêpe. This was done by order of one Zamborini, who is today Argentina's Under Secretary of Foreign Affairs. His act illustrated perfectly the pro-Nazi character of a regime which has never ceased to be pro-Nazi.

Argentine developments in the past year, in both the international and the domestic sphere, merit a special article in *The Nation's* series on Latin America. I have not visited Buenos Aires recently, but here and in Europe I have talked with Argentines of widely divergent views, and in complete freedom. I have received, in addition, an abundance of direct information sent me from inside the country. While I am not allowed to name the sources of my information, I can guarantee its reliability.

In the international field the outstanding event of this year was the elimination of Bramuglia from the direction of foreign policy. A capable lawyer with former trade-union and Socialist connections, the Minister of Foreign Affairs had shown himself to be a shrewd and forceful diplomat at the Paris session of the United Nations, where he presided over the Security Council and worked tenaciously to find a way out of the impasse over Berlin. When he returned to Buenos Aires, his career was cut short. He was the appointed victim of Evita Perón's "purge." The reputation he had acquired aroused the jealousy of a woman who could not endure to see any star in the Argentine sky shine more brilliantly than her husband. But this psychological interpretation does not cover the complexities of the case. Bramuglia's fall marked the revival of Nazi power. His successor, Paz, together with Zamborini, set Argentina again on the course laid out in the days when the government's major preoccupation was to protect the Hitler agents whose expulsion was demanded by Washington. Under the new Foreign Minister moderation has been cast aside. The idea has taken root that a South America purged of all liberal influences might be regrouped ideologically around the Argentine dictatorship, to its greater power and glory.

Perón was encouraged to try to extend the success he had achieved in Venezuela. It will be recalled that just before the attack on the progressive Venezuelan regime early in 1948 Lieutenant Colonel Marco Pérez Jimenez, chief of staff of Venezuela, went to Buenos Aires, received his instructions from Perón, and returned to Caracas prepared to undermine the army's loyalty to the government of Rómulo Gallegos. Later Perón's ambassador to Venezuela, Pedro Juan Vignale, far from concealing his part in the Caracas coup d'état, boasted publicly how in the hours immediately preceding the military uprising he had succeeded in overcoming the last scruples of Colonel Pérez Jimenez. This officer had also served as liaison between the Argentine dictator and General Manuel Odria, the present dictator of Peru, when the latter was preparing the military revolt which overthrew the government of Dr. Bustamente y Rivero.

Peru and Venezuela are thus already in Perón's orbit. In those countries as in Argentina the new Latin American fascism, spread by the sword, follows the lines laid down by the spiritual leader of all Latin American reaction, Francisco Franco. The most distinguished liberals of Latin America have warned Washington that Spanish fascism has great influence in countries that speak the same language and serves as an example for ambitious military elements in all of them. Its very existence threatens democracy throughout the Western Hemisphere. One after the other, like puppets in a shooting gallery, constitutional governments fall when generals and colonels point their guns at them.

In Bolivia a Congressional Committee on which all political parties are represented has for some months been investigating the foreign aid received by the partisans of Victor Paz Estenssoro and the late Bolivian dictator Gualberto Villarroel. In their armed attempt to overthrow the government, the rebels had modern Argentine weapons. One of their leaders, an army officer named Carmelo Cuellar, lived in the Argentine city of Paraná, 940 miles from the Bolivian border, under the "strict" surveillance of the Argentine police, but had no difficulty in leaving for Bolivia to take part in the revolt. When the appointment of a committee to investigate these facts was proposed by José Antonio Arze, leader of the P. I. R. (Leftist Revolutionary Party), he expressly charged Argentina with complicity in the unsuccessful revolution.

In Chile the Socialist Senator Salvador Allende, in a well-documented speech delivered in the Chilean Senate on August 30 last, accused the Argentine government "of promoting the disturbances occurring in various American countries." "I affirm," he said, "that a grave danger hangs over the democratic peoples of America; it is tremendously disquieting to see, in this tranquil

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continent, a great nation like Argentina absorbed by a passion for war and armaments, a passion which impelled it in 1948 to allocate to its military expenses the sum of twenty-five billion Chilean pesos." His remarks were extremely interesting, for they showed that in foreign affairs *Peronismo* is moving toward its goal along two lines: it is financing and arming native fascist groups in order to destroy from within every remaining democratic government on the continent, and it is creating a war machine of such great strength in comparison with its neighbors' military forces that it will be able to dictate to all South America.

In the case of Colombia both Franco and Perón were the driving forces behind the rise of the future Colombian dictator, Laureano Gómez, who spent a year in Madrid learning from Franco how to run a fascist state. The freely elected Colombian government was turned out through farcical elections in which the opposition was forcibly suppressed; in Panama an upset was accomplished by the intervention of a chief of police. Even in a country like Mexico, with a strong revolutionary tradition, some military groups have been speculating on the possibility of a coup similar to those in the other countries. They are kept in check by the deep anti-fascist feelings of the Mexican people, by the vigilance of the government, and by the shadow of the great Lázaro Cárdenas. Though Cárdenas has retired from all political activity and devotes himself exclusively to his project for the agricultural renovation of Michoacan—a scheme somewhat like the TVA—he would not stand by with his arms folded if a revolt against the constitution broke out.

As a final illustration of the international role of the Argentine dictatorship I will cite the agitation against the United States, which rises and falls in accordance with the needs of the regime for American dollars. On this point also the Argentine and Spanish dictatorships are identical. Both Perón and Franco hate the United States, but when their shortage of dollars becomes severe, as is the case with Franco at present, they avow their love for the American people and the Washington Administration. Once when feeling against the United States was high in Argentina, certain anti-Peronists were accused of having "sold out to Yankee imperialism." The charge was based on a report of conversations between the United States embassy in Buenos Aires and members of the opposition contained in a confidential memorandum sent by the embassy to the State Department. No one knew of these conversations except the embassy and the opposition members directly involved. People in Buenos Aires ask how the Perón government learned about them. Are there in the Department of State men who carry sympathy with Perón to such extremes? Argentines with whom I have talked declare this to be a fact.

INTERNAL Argentine developments in 1949 were not less disturbing. The economic difficulties which became serious in the second half of 1948 put a stop to the large-scale reconstruction of the nation which Perón had planned in the flamboyant style of Mussolini's early period. As matters grew worse, the regime dropped its pro-worker, social-revolutionary mask. The honeymoon with the unions and the extreme left came to an end. *Peronismo* began to show itself in its true colors—as a military fascism, an exact reproduction of Franco's, with the same symptoms of economic bankruptcy and growing popular rebellion against police clubs and tear-gas bombs.

Argentina is suffering both a financial and an economic crisis. The financial crisis caused by the dollar shortage is becoming more acute as the reserves of dollars, some two billion, accumulated during the war are used up. This money is being squandered on armaments and ships out of all proportion to any legitimate need and on financing Perón's propaganda machine. Argentine embassies and diplomatic missions in other countries are prodigally supplied with funds to deceive the world about the true state of affairs at home and to glorify the dictator and his Evita.

Perón

That other Latin American countries, producers of raw materials or of only one commodity, should have had a boom during the war and an economic collapse afterward was to be expected. But Argentina might have avoided such an experience, since it has an almost self-contained economy. Its crisis can be blamed entirely on the regime, which (1) speculated too recklessly with the prices of wheat and meat, (2) created a state monopoly of all trade in cereals and meat, (3) paid producers a much lower price than that prevailing in the world market, (4) announced a five-year industrialization program to be financed with the proceeds from the sale of cereals and meat but never carried out this industrialization—spending the money instead on the army and propaganda. Attracted by the promise of higher wages and the pleasures of city life, many peasants left the land. The result was lessened agricultural production, the nation's principal source of wealth. Since the industries also failed to materialize, the loss was twofold.

The administrative anarchy was increased by the ar-

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bitrary intervention of Mme Perón in economic affairs. Large sums of money were taken from state funds for her propaganda, her newspapers, and her radio stations. A million pesos a day went into the Social Assistance Fund which she directed. I have been told that she has accumulated an enormous personal fortune and is one of the largest private depositors in the Swiss banks. Indisputably she runs the government. One of my Argentine informants related this incident. An appointment was to be made in a certain ministry. Evita Perón had a candidate. She telephoned the Minister and gave him the name of her protégé. "I'm sorry, Madame," he answered, "but the post has been filled." "By whom?" asked Evita. "By the President, your husband." "Don't be ridiculous," she said; "you know who the boss is." The President's choice was disregarded, and Eva's candidate got the place.

The growing protests can only be quelled by repression and terror.

I TAKE no personal satisfaction in seeing my predictions about Argentina coming true. But in the last four years I have quarreled with the Communists more violently about the Argentine regime than about any other subject. They believed, as did Russia itself at one time, that *Peronismo*, in spite of everything, contained a revolutionary element, that it was progressive in the trade-union sense, and that opposition to it was an example of the romantic stupidity of traditional liberalism. The Argentine Communists who argued with me are now in prison, and a period of the most brutal repression we may ever see in America is beginning. The *descamisados* who thronged the streets shouting "Viva Perón" and cheering with a kind of crazy sensuality the "bella Evita," "the darling of the people," have been beaten up by the police and subjected to tortures that compare with those we used to hear about in Hitler's concentration camps. Last week Carlos Aguirre, the Communist union leader, was murdered by the police in Tucumán.

It is, in fact, Eva Perón, yesterday idolized as a goddess by poor devils who had been exploited for decades, who today directs the action against the workers.

The first important break between the government and the unions took place at the beginning of 1949. The telephone workers' union asked for an end to government intervention and a union election, establishment of a minimum wage, and a maximum of six hours' work a day for operators. One union had only to regain its voice and, ceasing to depend on the generosity of the government, formulate its own demands in the old union way, for other unions to follow suit. Evita, hurt in her feelings as wife and *vedette*, reacted hysterically. Her one desire was to show her power and to punish the *atorrantes*, these ungrateful wretches "who have eaten for the first time in their lives, thanks to Perón."

If Eva was furious, the opposition was delighted. It was greatly encouraged to see that the union apparatus set up by Perón was not functioning and that the workers' support of the dictator was superficial and impermanent. The workers were for Perón while he raised their wages and demagogically gave them a central position in Argentine politics which permitted him to use them as a weapon of revenge against the old parties and the upper classes, which regarded him as an upstart and boycotted his wife. As soon as the dictator, pressed by the economic crisis, had to get rid of the trappings of prosperity, and began by reducing wages, the workers deserted him.

And not only the workers have gone over to the opposition. The peasants have, too. The much talked-of agrarian reform came to nothing. During Perón's election campaign his agents went from house to house in the rural regions promising land to the peasants. But the land is still in the hands of the former owners.

Peronismo not only tried to give the impression of being a "welfare state" devoted to the protection of the *descamisados*; it also tried to present the dictatorship as a moderate regime which observed the law even in its clashes with the opposition. The university, center of the intelligentsia's resistance to the "great revolution" was "reformed"; newspapers and radio stations were hired with government funds to counteract the critical attitude of independent papers like *La Prensa* and *La Nación*. The government wanted to show that the violence of 1947, when meetings of the opposition were broken up by Peronist bombs, was a thing of the past. This fiction of paternalism and moderation, however, was ended by the economic crisis and the consequent sharpening of social conflicts.

Just recently opposition deputies like Colonel Cattaneo have been forced to flee to Montevideo, and the offices of *La Prensa* and *La Nación* and even of the American Associated Press and United Press were seized by the police and placed under government control. If this had happened in a country behind the iron curtain we should have seen enormous headlines and protests in the American press. The repressive acts of Latin American fascism are regarded with greater tolerance.

Some day the American public will wake up to the situation in Latin America. It failed to grasp the truth about China until the violence of the upheaval there shook it out of the opium sleep induced by anti-Russian propaganda, a sleep in which it was able to distinguish only the silhouettes of the men in the Kremlin, as if the rest of the world did not exist. Some day the American public will realize that the advance of fascism in Latin America is a greater and more concrete threat to the United States and American democracy than the violation of civil liberties now going on in Hungary or Rumania.

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Fair Deal Millionaire

BY CAREY McWILLIAMS

Los Angeles, December 13

THE career of young Gifford Phillips, whose sizable fortune is one of several factors contributing to the revival of the Democratic Party in the West, merits attention because it clearly reflects certain current trends in the West.

Phillips was born thirty-one years ago in Washington, D. C. When he was about a year old, his father died; some years later his mother remarried and moved to Denver. From his father young Phillips inherited a fortune which, although it may not be as inexhaustible as some Democratic hopefuls imagine, is large enough to make him a millionaire several times over. Attending private schools in Colorado Springs, Phillips was exposed to the densely conservative influences which make Colorado's rich a peculiarly complacent lot. A true son of this tradition, he grew up as a rock-ribbed "Seventeenth Street" Republican, with passionate convictions about the necessity of a high tariff on sugar, the advantages of unrestricted grazing on forest lands, and other tenets of Colorado conservatism.

The turning-point in his career came, as it has come for generations of Westerners, when he went East to school. After two years at Stanford he transferred to Yale, and at Yale he realized that he was a Westerner by discovering that he disliked the East. This is, of course, the classic process by which Westerners have been manufactured for a century or more. Majoring in English, he found that he could not devote himself to the work he liked but was expected to take what seemed to him an endless series of courses in the English poetry of past centuries. He also discovered, so he contends, that the Yale faculty was class-structured, with the English professors forming the élite, the history professors the middle class, and the social scientists "the lower middle class." In addition he encountered, and deeply resented, an Anglophilia of absurd intensity. One day he attended a tea given by a socially distinguished member of the English Department. Although we were not yet in the war, he remembers hearing his hostess say, "Mr. Phillips, the reason we are in this war is to preserve the sanctity of the English language."

In protest against all this Phillips became a chauvinistic Westerner, an "undoctrinaire liberal" (the phrase is his), and an ardent isolationist. For a time he was interested in America First. On getting out of the army in 1944 he resolved to devote his energies and his fortune to the high purpose of liberalizing the Republican Party of Colorado, which was his own party as well as that of his family and his class.

He first bought a newspaper in Golden and one in Lakewood, and consolidated them to form the Jefferson County *Sentinel,* which he still owns. Next he founded *Rocky Mountain Life,* a prestige publication addressed to the tastes and prejudices of the middle and upper classes, for which he built up a monthly circulation in excess of 10,000. Moving into the field of radio, he bought a 5,000-watt station in Pueblo—KGHF, the largest in the area. Earlier, in 1944, he had been appointed assistant to the Republican national committeeman from Colorado in charge of radio activities. He was also elected chairman of the Young Republicans Club. For the next four years, with the aid of some of his associates, including State Senator Arthur Brooks of Denver, he tried to transform the Republican Party by the familiar tactics of "boring from within."

IN SEPTEMBER, 1948, this sandy-haired young millionaire with the white eyelashes made an important decision: he switched his registration from the Republican to the Democratic Party, came out for President Truman, and made a substanial investment in the party of his adoption. He had concluded that the Republican Party could not be reformed and could never be used to express the idea which was his prime interest in politics—the idea of a "Solid West," a Western progressive bloc to offset the "Solid South." Many of his associates and friends, including Senator Brooks, changed their party at the same time. Some strange apathy must have overcome the once-dominant Republican Party of Colorado to let this golden young angel desert to the enemy.

After changing his registration, Phillips made another important, and symbolic, decision—to shift the base of his operations from Denver to Los Angeles. He had at first thought that Denver, the center of the "Rocky Mountain Empire," would be the ideal base from which to project his political schemes, but he discovered, as all the West is doing, that the center of the region, by a curious paradox, is at its margin, in Southern California. So he sold his monthly and moved with his staff to Beverly Hills, where he is at present deep in television and where he has just launched *Frontier,* a weekly journal of opinion.

Phillips admits, quite frankly, that he wants a political career, although not necessarily as a candidate. He

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certainly wants to take an active part in the formation of a "solid progressive West." He moved to Los Angeles, he says, because California has more political power than the rest of the West combined and Los Angeles County is the "key" to California politics. He was drawn to California, also, by James Roosevelt's announcement that he would be a candidate for governor in 1950. Phillips has made important contributions to Jimmy's campaign fund and intends to work for his election. But he still retains his "investment," as a newspaper publisher and radio-station owner and money-giver, in the sprightly Democratic Party of Colorado. He is a close friend of John Carroll and will unquestionably support Carroll's campaign for a seat in the United States Senate in 1950.

At the moment liberal Democrats in California are pinching themselves: they simply can't believe, after all these lean years, that they finally have a millionaire on their side. When the Young Democrats hold fund-raising barbecues these days, they do not stage them in Brookside Park in Pasadena, where the "poor folks" picnic, but at Giff Phillips's Bel-Air estate. However, it is not Phillips's millions alone that make him an influential political figure in the West today. He is intelligent and able, and he means business. He really intends to build a Western progressive bloc and is prepared to spend a large part of his fortune to achieve his purpose. In a year's time or less he should be a favorite subject for the political columnists. If he ever succeeds in organizing a "Solid West," the East will perhaps understand that its snobbishness is at least partly responsible.

The Uneasy Arabs

BY CONSTANTINE POULOS

Tel Aviv, December 1

THE appeal for unity and progress, heard faintly in the Arab countries since the turn of the century and a bit more loudly after the Palestine débâcle, has been drowned out once again by nationalist reaction to the maneuvers of the imperialist powers. In the aftermath of a disastrous aggressive war a few enlightened Arabs dared to speak out in favor of real political unity as the precursor of a program of social betterment, but nothing was accomplished. The monarchs, the landowners, and the military cliques are still on top, still bickering among themselves, still conspiring, and still ready to collaborate with anyone who will help protect them against a popular revolt.

Eight years ago, when the Arab League was created by the British Colonial Office, there was a slender chance that it might, despite its dubious origin, weld the Arabic-speaking states into a bloc strong enough to withstand outside pressures, or at least ready to begin the implementation of its pledge "to achieve a close cooperation in economic, cultural, judicial, social, and health matters." As it turned out, the only cohesive force within the League was an antipathy to foreign influence; this was encouraged by the British and directed, according to circumstances, against the French or the Jews.

The following years produced no agreement, no working plan, on any economic, cultural, or social issue. Even on Palestine there was no real agreement. Recently well-wishers of the league have hoped that Arab defeat in Palestine, which dealt it a severe blow, might ultimately strengthen it. The ineffectual meeting of the League Council, held in Cairo in mid-October after countless postponements, merely emphasized the disunity and aroused speculation as to the date of the league's formal demise.

It is perhaps significant that the complete bankruptcy of the league as a unifying and progressive force is revealed at a time when the Arab states face the most severe economic and political crisis of the past three decades. Egypt, relatively stable and partly Westernized, with a population almost equal to that of all the other Arab countries put together, is plagued by the same economic and political weaknesses and by the same social contradictions that are undermining the foundations of all the Arab nations of the Middle East. Last January, after the audacious penetration of Israeli forces into Egyptian territory, there was serious danger that the whole regime, including the King, might fall. With the aid of martial law, strict censorship, and a propaganda campaign about proposed social reforms and public-works projects, the awkward moment was eased over. Although literate Egyptians did not quite swallow the official story that Egypt had emerged victorious from a defensive war against a Jewish aggressor, the country was pacified. But martial law has not been lifted. Thousands are still imprisoned as potential enemies of the state. Barbed wire still surrounds public buildings. Censorship continues.

Devaluation of the pound sterling, followed by Egyp-

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tian devaluation, came just at the beginning of Egypt's export season for cotton, when deals for the coming year are made. Combined with considerable damage to this year's cotton crop by pests, devaluation has caused a catastrophic decline in receipts from cotton exports, on which the country's economic life depends. Not only is a revision in Egypt's import program, which would require the imposition of drastic controls, called for, but also a further scaling down of the ephemeral development plans. A nervous market and a shortage of investment capital reflect the government's unsound fiscal program, which now allots nearly a fourth of the budget ($178,000,000) to the expanding army. A few men, like former Premier Ismail Sidky Pasha, have spoken out bluntly, saying that it was nonsense for Egypt to start building a big army before social reforms were effected. No one has dared to ask what was to be the precise role of a "big" army.

Progress in Egypt, which has not been inconsiderable during the past twenty years, has been stalled by these developments, and popular discontent is catching up with the dynasty, the politicians, and the landlords. It can be directed against the Jews, the British, or other foreigners or distracted by army circuses and promises of reform, but it cannot be controlled forever in a country where the death rate is the highest in the world, where the real income per person is probably the lowest in the world, and where food rations were distributed during the war on the basis of income, the higher income groups getting bigger rations.

One of the reforms promised to take the people's minds off the Palestine war was free elections. At first, elections were scheduled for the end of the summer; now they have been set for January 3; but there will be no relaxation of martial law. The Palace worked out a scheme whereby no party would win a dominant position; the elections were to be so "arranged" that each of the three major parties—the Saadist, the Liberal, and the Wafdist—should have about 30 per cent of the parliamentary seats, the remaining 10 per cent to be distributed among minor parties. This would preclude a one-party government and strengthen the position of the ambitious young King. The plan was accepted, and the three parties, without waiting for the election, formed a government, but the Wafdists at once proceeded to ignore the rules and to campaign for as many seats as possible.

This episode reveals perfectly the thought processes of the ruling classes in Arab countries. There is no serious consideration of the people's will or of their right to express it freely. Alterations in the power structure amount to no more than a superficial shuffling of personalities drawn from a small, fabulously wealthy section of the population. Reform, which means primarily land reform, can only be brought about by a change in the present distribution of wealth and power. On the character of that change, when it comes, depends the immediate future of the Middle East.

It is routine to report that mass revolt is a strong possibility in all the Arab countries of the Middle East except Trans-Jordan and Saudi Arabia. Current efforts to keep it down or to channel it are based on the promise of a "second round" against Israel. Even attempts to carry through any one of the various unification schemes —for a Greater Syria, the Fertile Crescent, and so on— use the argument that they would hurt "no one except the Zionists." Actually, of course, the relation of the Arab governments with the new Jewish state are not a vital factor in the internal struggle for power that is now going on in all the Arab countries or in the resurgence of the old bitter enmities among the Arab rulers. The quiet acceptance of the armistice with Israel disproved the much-parroted theory that no Arab government signing such an agreement could survive.

THIS is not to suggest that the failure in Palestine did not stir the Arab people. It bewildered, frightened, and humiliated them. And it aroused a sullen longing for a strong man—a Saladin, an Ataturk—who would not only revenge the honor of Islam but wipe out the divisions between state and people which unquestionably contributed to Arab weakness. For a brief moment last spring when General Husni Zayim seized power in Syria, it seemed that the hour had produced the man. Before Zayim's coup discontent had been rife throughout Syria. Zayim's bold promises and his attacks on the old order caught the imagination of many people. Here, it was hoped, was the man who could lead the Arab countries out of the morass of their disunity and backwardness.

It was only a mirage. Zayim's self-centered opportunism made him an easy pawn of the big powers. General Zayim became Marshal Zayim and boasted that he would build the biggest army in the Middle East. The French, never reconciled to their unceremonious war-time expulsion from the Middle East, were glad to help. In violation of the United Nations embargo, they supplied Zayim with a considerable quantity of arms. The Turks, anxiously looking for friends, offered encouragement and advice. Egypt, very much aware of Zayim's opposition to any plan for a federation of Arab states under a Hashemite regime, extravagantly supported the new Syrian ruler. Zayim's hatred of the Hashemite kingdoms of Iraq and Trans-Jordan, which he shrewdly camouflaged during the first few weeks of his rule, was fanned by the French, who saw in it a means of countering British influence in the Middle East. Eventually, the British, noting with alarm the increasing French influence, decided that perhaps Zayim was not so bad after all. The responsible British press described him as a "new-type dictator," strong-armed but paternal and benevolent— just the type of dictator the Arab countries needed and

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one with whom the powers could work. But by the time the British got around to changing their policy, Zayim had thanked the still unpopular French for their aid and turned to a more formidable patron, the United States.

Zayim's success in playing off the powers went to his head; lacking Ataturk's sagacity, he assumed the overbearing manner of Mussolini. Since his boasts and promises proved to be hollow he could win no new supporters and was obliged to fall back on the old political cliques which he had sworn to displace. The far-reaching reforms he had promised were forgotten. To obtain funds for his grandiose military plans he taxed even ordinary soldiers and minor officials. The landlords and merchants did not trust the blustering pretender. Four months after he had seized power Zayim was assassinated. The French and Egyptians were dismayed. The Turks went home. The British didn't say a word. Amman and Bagdad paid their respects to the new government, and the Americans were chagrined.

The officers who killed Zayim announced that they did so to restore Syria's democratic freedoms. They replaced Zayim with men from the group which had provided Syria with bad government for the past thirty years. The election held in mid-November did not alter the situation, even though the new Parliament is supposed to draw up a new constitution. (In the last Parliament 96 of 109 members were landlords.) It is significant, however, that the Popular Party, which has an avowed policy of collaboration with Great Britain and hitherto has always been in the opposition, received the largest number of seats, though not a majority.

AFTER this party's success in the elections—which it conducted—the project of a political union with Iraq, under young King Feisal of Iraq as a joint constitutional monarch, was of course resurrected. Great Britain's interest in the union of the two countries is undisguised; even the London *Times* uses the bogy of Israeli expansionism as an argument for the so-called Fertile Crescent plan. That Britain should wish to solidify its position in the Middle East before the United States moves in is understandable. But Egypt believes that Great Britain wants to create another powerful Arab state to offset Egypt, and therefore opposes the union. France, naturally, does not relish the idea of its influence being completely eradicated. Israeli really fears the creation of what could be a powerful combination, though it argues against any union as a threat to peace among the Arab states.

A union of Syria and Iraq, or of Syria, Iraq, and Lebanon, or of Syria, Iraq, and Trans-Jordan, would not of itself solve any of the major problems facing these countries. Government graft and mismanagement have reduced Iraq to political and economic bankruptcy. The country has the greatest possibilities for agricultural expansion in the Middle East, but its antiquated land-tenure system, which reduces the farmer to a mere serf-tenant, is a serious obstacle to their development. Despite pretty promises by various Iraqi governments to encourage the break-up of large land-holdings, the extension of large ownership is going on at a rapid pace. The governments cannot be expected to alter the situation since they are made up of landowners. Similarly, Parliament, which also represents the land-owning class, refuses to consider any taxation that would seriously affect its own income. The only taxes passed by the present Parliament were excise duties on the produce of animals and of trees; these obviously raised the already high cost of food and hit the poor rather than the rich.

As the gap between rich and poor grows wider, Iraq blames the Jews, the British, and the Palestine war. It persists in cutting off the flow of crude oil to the refineries at Haifa, though it has been hard hit by the loss of oil royalties and by reduced employment in the oil fields. Having built up the Israeli threat to huge proportions for domestic reasons, Iraq's rulers now fear that a relaxation of the blockade might result in anti-government agitation. There may be some basis for this fear, but the government has brought the danger on itself. What the Iraqi leaders are most afraid of is that the agitation would not be directed solely against the government's policy toward Israel but might take on a class character. The United States shares this fear.

Iraq happens to be the country that is closest at the moment to the condition of political and economic chaos which State Department officials like to label a "vacuum." Unquestionably, the Soviet Union would be all too happy to fill that vacuum. At varying rates of speed the other Arab countries of the Middle East are approaching a similar state. The situation is extremely fluid. Washington's apprehensions are certainly justified. Washington's approach, though anything but clearly defined, does not as yet offer much hope.

The United States should have boldly rejected the silly argument of the Arab governments that the Jews are responsible for all their troubles—that their domestic economic difficulties are a consequence of the Palestine war and the remedy is a "second round" against Israel. Washington's failure to reject these arguments has encouraged the Arab leaders to continue to use them in an effort to divert the people's minds from their real problems and to use the unfortunate Palestinian Arab refugees as a political weapon. The State Department's preoccupation with "stability" forces it into the same old rut. To the State Department mind that illusive essential, "stability," must not be compromised by any consideration of the increasing demand of the Arab peoples for social change. Consequently, the department feels obliged to support the intrenched ruling class, which in every Arab country is predominantly composed of big

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landowners. Lacking all sense of social responsibility, this class is bound to resist attempts to raise rural living standards or to strengthen the half-conscious desire of the poor for better health and more education.

ITS resistance is only one of the many almost insurmountable obstacles which President Truman's much propagandized Point Four would meet in this region. All the Arab governments have interpreted Point Four to mean simply a chance to get United States largess on their own terms—the terms being, of course, that the present distribution of political power and income must not be disturbed. The London *Economist* recently estimated, "conservatively," that Middle East oil production over the next ten years would yield six billion dollars to the Arab countries, including Iran, in royalties and local expenditures. Yet it has never been suggested that some of this immense wealth be used for social reform.

The Kremlin's expansionist plans include this strategic and valuable area, and its agents find the soil fertile for working. France still hopes to return triumphant to the Levant. Great Britain clings expertly and with surprising tenacity to its preeminent position. The United States, which has by and large deferred to British interests, even to the extent of allowing British political influence to limit American economic initiative, still hesitates to formulate a policy of its own. No matter how much it is labored over, United States policy on the Middle East still bears a striking resemblance to the historically compromised position of the British. In arguing that Israel must make "concessions" to the Arab landlords in order to prevent political chaos in the Arab countries, Washington speaks with a Whitehall accent. And sometimes, as when the British supply the Egyptians with jet fighters for "internal-security reasons," the State Department loses its voice altogether.

Since no constructive Anglo-American collaboration based on a recognition of the Arab people's desire for change can be expected, an unrealistic British policy will probably prevail. A reading of the present situation in the Middle East indicates, therefore, that Arab nationalism, which is based on a lack of self-confidence, will be effectively aroused, and that the mood of revolt prevailing in the more undeveloped sections of the Arab world will be properly exploited by dangerous demagogues. As a result, right-wing revolutions will probably take place in all the Arab countries of the Middle East except Trans-Jordan. Right-wing revolutions will lead to right-wing dictatorships, which will ruthlessly instal one-party regimes, preserve the existing social order—although the form of property relations and exploitation may be altered—attempt to blackmail the United States for dollars by pointing to the Russian threat, and prepare for the renewal of hostilities against Israel.

Chiang's Washington Front

BY MALCOLM HOBBS

Washington, December 14

WHEN Secretary Acheson ridiculed the idea that the United States was "losing face" in Asia as the result of State Department policy toward China, he was taking a slap at the Chinese Nationalist lobby here. It seemed to be permissible, Mr. Acheson observed, to lose wars, to lose honor, to lose anything but "face"; but this was a peculiar form of orientalism of which he was not guilty.

He had ample justification for his ire. The Chinese lobby not only compounds the Administration's difficulties in handling the Far Eastern crisis but is behind a whispering campaign against Mr. Acheson and some of his principal lieutenants. A drive for his removal, it hopes, will be inaugurated by a series of Congressional investigations early next year. Meanwhile it is trying to build a fire under him by circulating the rumor that he is on the way out.

One of the lobby's sparkplugs is a New York importer named Alfred Kohlberg. Operating through the American China Policy Association, Kohlberg is a fount of propaganda for the Nationalist cause, sending masses of material to a list of 2,000 editors. The association is housed in Kohlberg's offices in New York, and at least some of its expenses are charged off to his import business. Clare Boothe Luce is a past president, and Representative Walter Judd, Minnesota Republican, one of Chiang Kai-shek's most active supporters on Capitol Hill, is on the board. Kohlberg works closely with William C. Bullitt, Henry Luce, and General Claire Chennault in asking for more military and financial aid for the Nationalists. He has connections also with H. H. Kung, the Chinese financier and brother-in-law of Mme Chiang Kai-shek, who now lives in a New York suburb.

Kohlberg was the publisher of the anti-Communist magazine *Plain Talk*, edited by Isaac Don Levine. His income is derived from a $1,500,000-a-year-gross business in Chinese textiles, which provides him with an economic, as well as ideological, motive for backing the

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Nationalists. Even if he were willing to do business with the new regime in China, the Communists might not approve of his operations. One of his affiliated concerns employs what is known as the "cottage system," under which peasant women do work at home at lower rates than those paid in factories.

Though Kohlberg is not registered as a Congressional lobbyist, Capitol Hill is flooded with his pro-Nationalist material. Handouts of the American China Policy Association turn up in the *Congressional Record* through the intercession of such Senators as Styles Bridges, William Knowland, and Pat McCarran. Kohlberg's relations with Bridges were cemented last year by a $1,000 contribution to the Senator's campaign for reelection. It was Bridges who in 1948, while chairman of the Senate Appropriations Committee, sent former isolationist Senator D. Worth Clark on a committee mission to China. Clark's report whitewashing the Nationalists spurred the Eightieth Congress to vote an additional $125,000,000 for China. It was revealed subsequently that the Nationalists footed part of the bill for the Clark mission.

Typical of Kohlberg's activities is his attempt to pin the Communist label on Philip C. Jessup, the State Department's ambassador at large, who now heads the official policy group on the Far East. In an open letter last August he connected Jessup with Alger Hiss, the Institute of Pacific Relations, and opposition to Franco in an effort to question Jessup's loyalty.* This material appeared almost word for word in a recent Scripps-Howard editorial attack on Jessup.

Turning up as lobbyists for Chiang Kai-shek are former Christian Fronters, American "nationalists," and other rabid rightists. One of these is a Texas and New York cotton broker, Robert M. Harriss, who before the war was financial adviser to Father Charles E. Coughlin, according to the files of Friends of Democracy. In 1944 Harriss, together with former Secretary of War Harry Woodring, was an organizer and financial backer of the rightist American Democratic National Committee, a racist pressure group which includes in its ranks Gene Talmadge and "Pappy" O'Daniel. He is now under indictment, in connection with his cotton lobbying, for failure to register under the Congressional Lobby Act. He is not registered as a lobbyist for China either, although as a trustee of the Institute of Chinese Culture, headed by the Catholic Archbishop of Nanking, Paul Yu Pin, he is a key operative for the Nationalist cause. One of the institute's recent pamphlets, containing articles by Mrs. Luce, Patrick J. Hurley, Senator McCarran, and Kohlberg, is dedicated to "Robert M. Harriss, staunch friend of China."

Registered with the Justice Department as a paid agent of the Chinese Nationalist government is an old Harriss associate, William J. Goodwin. The fact that Goodwin, a former Christian Fronter, draws $25,000 a year from the Nationalists was revealed recently by Edward A. Harris, Washington correspondent for the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch*. Goodwin ran for Congress from a Queens district in 1936 with Coughlinite support. In 1941 he was the American Rock Party candidate for Mayor of New York, with Christian Front backing. He was quoted by John Roy Carlson in "Under Cover" as saying: "There's nothing wrong with fascism. Hitler has done a good job in Germany. The corporate state of Franco would be a perfect system for our country."

Goodwin has not always been so enthusiastic for the Kuomintang as he is today. In 1941 he wrote in praise of Japan and criticized beleaguered China. Yet he is now on the Nationalist pay roll "to influence leaders of United States thought" for the purpose of obtaining "larger measures of American support and material aid," according to his contract. He does this mainly by entertaining impressionable Congressmen at Washington's Metropolitan Club. He works closely with Kohlberg and distributes his literature in Congress.

The China lobby's glamour is provided by General Chennault of the Flying Tigers—to his backers, Chennault of China, a sort of present-day equivalent of Lawrence of Arabia. As owner of Civil Air Transport, a Nationalist-licensed company, the General has a sizable economic stake in China. He operates here from a plush office in the Washington Hotel. His lawyer, also an active China-lobby operative, is the erstwhile New Dealer Tommy Corcoran. For several months earlier this year Chennault conducted a series of briefing sessions for Congressmen and Senators on aid for China. He is not registered as a lobbyist.

In at least one instance the Chinese embassy itself has lobbied against a Presidential appointment. Last July a high embassy official met secretly with a group of ten Senators in a hotel room to urge the defeat of W. Walton Butterworth as Assistant Secretary of State for the Far East. And in September, C. M. Chen, the embassy counselor, told a private dinner group of legislators that the State Department White Paper on China was "not a fair and honest record."

The China lobby's effectiveness is measured by the $2,000,000,000 appropriated since the end of the last war. China aid has been such a huge financial operation that American racketeers have tried for a cut. A Chinese embassy source has admitted that an influential New Yorker repeatedly tried to get a secret contract from the Chinese which would have given him 1 per cent of all appropriations obtained for the Nationalist regime.

Today the China lobby's activities have hardly more than a nuisance value. Official circles are concerned about them simply because they may increase the hostility of the Chinese Communists toward Americans in China.

* Mr. Jessup's resignation, announced on December 16, obviously had no connection with this attack.

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MAN BITES DOG

BY JERRY TALLMER

[*Comments on the press will appear from time to time under this heading.*—EDITORS THE NATION.]

IN THE upper left-hand corner of page 22 of the New York *Times* of November 22 appeared the headline "Freedom Group Honors Our Way" (it was evidently thought unnecessary to place quotation marks around the possessive pronoun), a two-column cut of General Eisenhower and Edward F. Hutton in patriotic stance before a stone column marking one of George Washington's camp sites, and twenty-two column inches of a special dispatch from Valley Forge, Pennsylvania, of all places, describing the presentation of the "first annual Freedoms Foundation awards." In the upper left-hand corner of page 22 of the New York *Herald Tribune* of the same date appeared the headline "121 Get Awards for Promoting American Way" (no quotes here either), a two-column cut of General Eisenhower, and thirty-seven column inches of a dispatch from Valley Forge, Pennsylvania, telling how the General had just dispensed $72,000 in cash to organizations and persons whose "outstanding achievements" had brought about "a better understanding of the American way of life."

Freedoms Foundation, Inc., both papers explained, is "a recently established non-political, non-sectarian, non-profit group." Its funds are contributed "in equal proportions . . . by philanthropic foundations, American business concerns, and private subscribers." Its president is Don Belding, chairman of the board of the advertising firm of Foote, Cone, and Belding. The *Times*, in its picture caption but not in its story, identified Edward F. Hutton as the foundation's chairman. The *Tribune* simply listed him as "a director." Neither paper said anything more about him, but many readers must immediately have remembered Mr. Hutton as a Wall Street man who has often taken large advertisements in both dailies, and other papers, to present his own interpretation of economic and political affairs. The 1949 awards jury, it was announced, was headed by Harold E. Stassen.

The *Tribune*, in its longer account, gave much greater coverage to the awards themselves than did the *Times*; it listed the three top winners in each of twelve main categories (editorials, radio programs, etc.) and the first ten winners of "unclassified" awards. But only the *Times* disclosed that winners farther down the ladder included Herbert Hoover, James F. Byrnes, Robert A. Taft, and John Foster Dulles. A few names in the neatly numbered list in the *Tribune* would immediately catch the eye of any regular reader of *The Nation*: Dr. Ruth Alexander, an N. A. M. mouthpiece and author of a column in the New York *Sunday Mirror*; E. T. Leech, editor of the Pittsburgh *Post Gazette*, who was rapped by *The Nation* some months ago for his half-baked attacks on Labor Britain. Also RKO, which had won a prize for its short film, "Letter to a Rebel," an insipid, banal preachment to young radicals; Harold Gray, who had been honored for his viciously reactionary comic strip, "Little Orphan Annie"; and the B. C. Forbes Company for its shortlived $150-a-year hymn to capitalism, *Nation's Heritage*.

But by omitting most of the "minor" recipients of these "non-political, non-profit" awards—except for Mrs. Ruth Mills of Merion, Pennsylvania, perfecter of the "Credo Freedom cookie cutter"—the *Times* and *Tribune* deprived their readers of the opportunity to enjoy the full, ripe flavor of Freedoms Foundation. Here are some of the unfeatured winners, as taken from a foundation press release: the New York *Journal-American* for one of its editorials; Cholly Knickerbocker, gossip columnist of the same newspaper, for "an editorial series"; Leslie Gould, financial editor of the same newspaper; Merryle Stanley Rukeyser, Hearst business writer; David Lawrence for a syndicated editorial on a closed-shop ruling; Eugene Lyons for an article in the *American Legion Magazine*; Station WWJ of Detroit for a program entitled "Twenty-four Hours Under Communism"; Dr. James W. Fifield, Jr., leader of Spiritual Mobilization, for a broadcast entitled "The Cross vs. the Sickle"; Colonel Robert R. McCormick of the Chicago *Tribune* for a radio talk on "Responsibility in a Free Enterprise State"; the N. A. M. for a film called "The Price of Freedom"; George E. Sokolsky, another N. A. M. spokesman, for a commencement address on "Dignity and Liberty"; the American Legion for its Americanism program; and last, but perhaps most significant, the co-authors of a book called "How to Be Popular Though Conservative."

The files of Dr. Leon F. Birkhead's Friends of Democracy contain a few important facts which America's two leading newspapers neglected to print: the records of one Senate and three House investigating committees show that Edward F. Hutton was a very heavy contributor to the now defunct anti-Roosevelt Liberty League, a $3,000 contributor to the anti-Roosevelt American Democratic National Committee of 1944, a $5,000 contributor to the Crusaders, and a $2,500 contributor to American Action, Inc., a sort of post-war America First group which the F. O. D. describes as "a coalition of Coughlinites, anti-Semites, Franco apologists, and White Supremacy advocates." Robert S. Allen in the New York *Post-Home News* of December 7 called attention to Hutton's connections with Merwin K. Hart, guiding genius of American Action and a man who regularly announces that the "Zionist-Communists" will get us if we don't watch out. Birkhead has evidence that Hutton's other associates include such arch-reactionaries as Upton Close, John T. Flynn, Sam Pettengill, the aforementioned Colonel McCormick, Christian Fronter Robert K. Harriss, and Conde McGinley, editor of *Think Weekly*, a crude New Jersey hate sheet.

One can perhaps overlook the naivete or opportunism which permits a Stassen or an Eisenhower to go for Messrs. Belding and Hutton's mess of red, white, and blue porridge. But what can be said for the New York *Times* and the *Herald Tribune*? And speaking of those two dignified newspapers, there is one last interesting parallel: all of page 17 of the November 22 issue of the *Times* was taken up by an advertisement of the Crowell-Collier's publishing company, whose *American* magazine had been fortunate enough, or foresighted enough, to run three of the articles honored by Freedoms Foundation. On the very same page of the same issue of the *Herald Tribune* the same full-page "tie-in" ad can be found.

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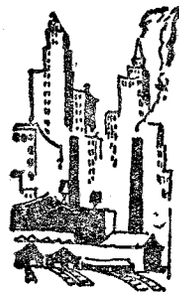

EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

The Sterling Debts

ECONOMIC doctors, probing the causes of international financial disorders, have lately been giving increased attention to the dire consequences of Britain's indigestible lump of unfunded sterling debt. A report by the United States Council of the International Chamber of Commerce, just published, suggests that this legacy of the war is a major obstacle to the attainment of a satisfactory international monetary system and to world economic recovery. R. C. Leffingwell, chairman of J. P. Morgan and Company, writing in the current issue of *Foreign Affairs*, concurs in this finding and recommends the scaling down of the debt, with the United States providing aid to alleviate consequent hardships for the creditor countries. An Anglo-American-Canadian "working party" of experts is now "exploring" the subject in Washington.

Throughout the war concentration on arms production made it impossible for Britain to pay for more than a fraction of its imports by current exports. This created a financial problem which was met in part by liquidation of overseas investments. That is to say, pounds earned by Commonwealth and other countries by the supply of goods and services to Britain were used to pay off their long-standing debts to British investors, just as before Lend-Lease, British holdings of American securities were liquidated to finance munitions, food, and so forth bought in the United States. However, long before the end of the war Britain was scraping the barrel of easily realized overseas investments and was forced to issue I.O.U.'s to Australia, Eire, and certain Latin American nations in return for food and raw materials, and to India, Egypt, Iraq, and some other countries which, in addition to supplying goods, provided many services to the large British forces stationed in their territories.

These I.O.U.'s took the form of London bank balances held for the account of the various creditor countries—balances not immediately expendable but constituting a claim on future British production. By the end of the war they had reached the vast total of £3,500,000,000. How was this mass of debts to be handled? From the British point of view they were not ordinary commercial obligations; they represented money spent in winning the war, an enterprise which, it was felt, was also for the benefit of some of the largest creditors, such as India and Egypt.

These countries did not see the matter quite in this light. Many Indians and Egyptians felt that no special national interest of theirs was involved in the defeat of the Axis powers. And, in any case, Britain had used their territories without ceremony for its own purposes, and by vast expenditures, not offset by increases in local supplies of goods, had saddled them with serious inflation. At the end of the war India and Egypt were troubled by a shortage of goods in relation to expanded money supplies: they needed greatly to increase both supplies of consumer goods and their own productive capacity. From their point of view the money owed by Britain was a very necessary capital reserve which would enable them to replenish stocks and finance the import of investment goods without pressing down farther the low standard of living of their people. Not surprisingly they and other British creditors received very coldly the suggestion that sterling debts should be scaled down and the balance repaid in instalments over a long period of years. They wanted their money in full and as quickly as possible.

It was not easy to contest the justice of their claims. Whatever Britain's post-war difficulties might be, the fact remained that relatively it was a wealthy nation, while most of the creditor countries were extremely poor. Moreover, it was very much to Britain's political interest that economic stability should be preserved as far as possible in these countries and particularly in India, which, fully independent but still associated with the Commonwealth, would, it was hoped, become a barrier to the spread of Russian influence in Asia. Such considerations discouraged ideas of forcing a showdown on the sterling debts. The question of writing down the total was postponed, and meanwhile Britain in separate negotiations with the creditor countries agreed from time to time to unfreeze fairly large amounts of London funds due to them. In 1947 the sum of £156,000,000 was released, and most of this sum was converted into dollars by the recipients, who thus contributed to the rapid conclusion of Britain's attempt to reestablish convertibility of sterling in accordance with the American loan agreement of 1946.

Releases in 1948 totaled £267,000,000, and in the first nine months of this year another £206,000,000 was made available. A small fraction of these sums seems to have been convertible into hard currencies, but for the most part they could be spent only inside the sterling area. Nevertheless, they contributed to Britain's exchange difficulties by making possible the export of large quantities of British goods which contributed nothing to immediate ability to import. Limited in their use of these funds, creditor countries were willing to offer good prices for British manufactures provided they could get quick delivery. Thus British exporters have had "a soft option," an easy market which did not involve too much selling effort, and as a result have in many cases tended to shy away from the much tougher North American market.

The devaluation crisis has made it plain that Britain cannot afford to continue using resources which might be turned to earning dollars for the rapid liquidation of sterling debts. Yet a sharp reduction in the funds it has been making available to India, for example, might bring on an acute economic crisis there, followed perhaps by very unfavorable political developments. Since stability in Asia is an American no less than a British interest, it has been suggested the United States should take over part of the load of financing India, Pakistan, and some other Eastern countries. Obviously, there are a great many difficulties in the way, but some solution has to be found if sterling is to be put on a sounder basis and again become a convertible currency—an indispensable step, all experts agree, to the restoration of stable international trade.

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BOOKS and the ARTS

Essays and Asides

LETTER FROM ROME

BY ANTHONY BOWER

Rome, November

ROME is in a state of suspense. The Holy Year—opening night December 24—is expected to bring a total of approximately eight million visitors to the city before it has run its course, and in the meantime feverish preparations are being made for catching their currency. The Vatican is selling coupons in foreign countries to cover all basic expenses of prospective pilgrims and is also building a number of hideous hotels in the Via della Conciliazione, facing Saint Peter's. This operation is justified on aesthetic grounds by saying that it is far more pleasing to the eye to burst suddenly on Bernini's miraculous arcades surrounding the Piazza di San Pietro and upon the slightly less miraculous cathedral façade than to contemplate, as was possible before the hotels began to go up, these wonders from a distance. But actually necessity has been at least the father of this latter enterprise, for the already inadequate hotel space in Rome is almost completely booked from the middle of December until late next year, and even that perfect parody of all hotels-de-luxe, the Excelsior, is sold out. Apartments rent for, by Italian standards, fabulous sums, restaurant prices creep up, and the pertinacious street venders, usually concerned only with the sale of postcards, cameos, and religious medallions, have even gone so far as to invent a new and lucrative business in the form of renting jackets and long dustcoats to male and female visitors—mainly American it must be confessed—whose costume is considered inadequate for entering churches. In fact, all Rome is waiting with outstretched hands to welcome the largest crowd of visitors it has ever received, for what with the discovery of the actual tomb of Saint Peter, announced but not so far revealed to the public, this should be the Holy Year of Holy Years.

Perhaps in anticipation of the coming invasion the "real" Rome is in hiding, or perhaps, along with commerce, most of the cultural and artistic life has moved north, but in any case for the tourist the predominant surface impression is of a city entirely dedicated to tourism. The cafes along the Via Veneto ring with American, French, and even German voices, and what part of the native population is to be found in them looks as if it were for sale in one form or another to the foreign visitor. The Cafe Grecco, where, according to a recent article in *Life*, one might expect to find, permanently installed, Orson Welles surrounded by a brilliant group of Italian intellectuals, is all but deserted, and Il Re degli Amici, a restaurant with a Bohemian reputation and its walls adorned with imitation Braques, Picassos, and Matisses by contemporary Italian artists, has a clientèle highly reminiscent of Sunday lunch at Longchamps.

THE LITERARY SCENE is not particularly scintillating. A large part of contemporary Italian literary talent seems to be recruited or to draw its inspiration from the south, which provides, as it does in America, by its cultural, political, and financial anachronisms, a rich field for literary exploration. True, the writers themselves do not live in the south, but then neither do most of them choose Rome, preferring like Vittorini and Brancati the more stimulating cities of the north. Of the southern-inspired group, only Carlo Levi has settled in Rome and is now concentrating solely on painting. The only creative writer who could in the least be described as Roman is Alberto Moravia, the popular success of whose last book, "La Romana," called down the wrath of the critics on his head, but who continues to be the most interesting and productive of Italian writers. For the rest there are only the critics—Mario Praz, Baldini, and Emilio Cecchi—who pursue their productive scholarly careers with considerable distinction. Nor does the foreign element add much glamour: English, French, and German groups are practically non-existent, and the more successful or flamboyant Americans seem to prefer Paris—but there is, of course, the usual handful either living out the Hemingway legend in convenient bars or studying here on the G. I. or Fulbright bills.

The most sensational if not the most laudable figure in Roman artistic life is, at the moment, Giorgio de Chirico, who is firmly holding the limelight by abusing all contemporary art and all his own painting previous to 1930. At present he is engaged in painting a series of sentimental and vulgarly colored neoclassical landscapes and also in a law suit claiming 5,000,000 lire damages from the Biennale in Venice on the ground that his paintings were exhibited at the last Biennale show without his pemission and, moreover, that one canvas was attributed to him that he vigorously denies ever having painted. The Biennale, which is not a particularly wealthy organization and which would be considerably crippled by an unfavorable decision, is confident of winning the first part of the suit but is highly nervous about the second. The authentication of a Chirico has now become a far more complicated business than the authentication of a Cimabue; for not only has Chirico's determination to deny his past led him to refuse to recognize many early paintings as his own and not only did many art dealers in Italy produce an unnatural number of early Chiricos at the lucrative period of the immediate post-war hedge against inflation, but it is rumored that in times of financial distress Chirico himself is inclined to paint a canvas in his early style and antedate it by many years. However, despite Chirico and his undoubted influence on the Roman picture-buying public, there is at least one group of highly talented and very young painters—Lorenzo Ves-

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pigniani, Graziella Urbinati, and Marcello Muccini. Their most obvious influences are Toulouse-Lautrec, Utrillo, and the Communist Party, but though the effect of this last limits their subjects largely to strung-up Partisans or bleak vistas of slum districts, they display, particularly in their drawings, a boldness, force, and originality which are doubly extraordinary in view of the fact that the oldest of them, Vespigniani, is only twenty-three.

OF THE POLITICAL LIFE of the city the only manifestation, apart from the conversation of this particular group, to be seen recently was a convention of the Committee for World Peace. Its most important public meeting was held in the Teatro Adreano, a large cinema in the Trastevere, the principal working-class district of Rome, at ten o'clock on a Sunday morning. The audience was highly respectable—well-dressed, quiet, patient. But when at last the show pieces of the committee—Joliot-Curie, Nenni, Fadayev, Ilya Ehrenburg, and Picasso—began to file on to the stage they were greeted with wild applause. Picasso in particular, got a tremendous ovation; he bowed and waved to the audience and then took his seat at the committee table, where he remained throughout the meeting immobile and gazing into space, looking like nothing so much as a nattily dressed little faun.

The first speaker was D'Arboussier, secretary general of the Democratic Union of Africa—taken by some in the audience for Paul Robeson—who proceeded to enumerate the main tenets of the committee's creed: that present international difficulties can be settled without recourse to war; that the capitalist and Communist economic systems can coexist; and that the peoples of the world do not want war and only a handful of bandits, intent on preserving their own privileges even at the cost of millions of human lives, now endanger the peace—all of which pronouncements were greeted as though they were the most sensational revelations since Moses came down from Sinai. Next in the speaker's box was Ilya Ehrenburg, who delighted the audience by making a short and quite witty speech in Italian, and this was followed by a pause interrupted by sounds of considerable confusion behind stage. Finally, after a good deal of agonized *va-et-vient*, there appeared, bearing a scarlet banner embroidered with the word *Pace* in gold thread, the first of various delegations from all parts of Italy come to pay tribute to the committee and to bring gifts—mainly to Picasso. Within a few moments every available square inch of space on the stage was littered with objects—a two-seater motor cycle, a radio, a toy motor car, boxes of candy, and, predominantly, in various forms including vases, mirrors, and mosaics, replicas of Picasso's famous dove of peace. The meeting ended with the showing of a documentary film, "The Battle of Life," which stodgily recounted the activities of the committee interlarded with peace-loving scenes from Soviet Russia, after which everyone dispersed in the most orderly fashion, leaving the little flying squad of *carabinieri* discreetly parked around a convenient corner with nothing to do but look self-consciously nonchalant.

Five American Liberals

SOCIAL THOUGHT IN AMERICA: The Revolt Against Formalism. By Morton G. White. The Viking Press. $3.50.

THIS is an invaluable study of the common elements in the basic ideas of five great American "liberals"—John Dewey, Justice Holmes, Thorstein Veblen, Charles Beard, and James Harvey Robinson—who powerfully affected American thought in the first three decades of this century, and many of whose attitudes still guide us. The author, who esteems these men highly, is nevertheless astutely critical of some of their shortcomings which have heretofore largely escaped detection.

I heartily recommend this book, because it supplies an exciting chapter in the history of ideas and because we can the better understand ourselves—our current ideals as well as our current predicaments—by learning from White what made these men tick.

White portrays "striking philosophic kinships" among Dewey's pragmatism, Veblen's "institutionalist" economics, Holmes's "legal realism," Beard's stress on "underlying economic forces," and Robinson's notion of history as "a pragmatic weapon for explaining the present and controlling the future of man." They "are all suspicious of approaches which are excessively formal; they all protest their anxiety to come to grips with reality, their attachment to the moving and the vital in social life." As "anti-formalists" they called upon those interested in social problems "in all domains, asked them to unite, and urged that they had nothing to lose but their deductive chains." It is amazing to find how far these sage philosophers, although each was highly individualized, shared certain dominant views, and how, too, these men influenced one another, both directly and indirectly.

The over-all argument of the book is convincing, the more so because White usually does not minimize the differences in the philosophies of these five thinkers. Yet White, eager to make his point, is at times a bit glib in tracing similarities. I shall cite one instance.

White argues that Dewey, Veblen, Beard, and Holmes were alike in ranging themselves in opposition to the British utilitarians, including Bentham, Austin, and Mill. This contention leads to a marked distortion in the case of Holmes. White says that "when Holmes was advancing his own view of law, it was the tradition of Bentham he was fighting against," and that Holmes also arrayed himself against Austin, Bentham's disciple. These statements are misleadingly superficial. In 1873 Holmes, editing Kent's "Commentaries," added a note saying, "For an accurate analysis of the nature of law the student should consult Bentham's 'Fragment on Government,'... and Austin on Jurisprudence." Bentham had demolished Blackstone's notion of "law" as something judges never make, but which consists of preexisting rules and principles that the judges merely discover—somewhat as Columbus discovered America. Both Bentham and Austin did much to disseminate the anti-Blackstone idea that judicial decisions, when not concerned with statutes, often embody "judge-made law." This idea was pivotal in Holmes's legal writings. Bentham and Austin, however, hoped by codification to eliminate such "judicial legislation," which they regarded as largely undesirable. It was chiefly there that Holmes, skeptical of the worth of codification, deviated from

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Bentham and company. But Holmes followed Austin's trail in insisting that, in order to find out what the "law" is at any given moment, one should disregard what one thinks it ought to be.

Although Holmes rejected, as too narrow, Austin's doctrine that all "law" is the command of the sovereign, Holmes, like Bentham and Austin, was not a little swayed by Hobbes, who had depicted force as the central factor in government. Holmes, to be sure, recognized that other factors—habits of obedience, social pressures, and the like—play an important role in inducing compliance with legal rules and court decisions. But Holmes was a Hobbesian—and consequently a Benthamite—to this extent: he said that a court's decision, no matter how unjust or immoral, is legal if the state enforces that decision, and that when the state refuses to enforce a rule, no matter how just or moral, no legal rights stem from that rule. Significantly, in 1930 Judge Learned Hand spoke of Holmes's "understanding of the meaning of law" as "strictly Austinian."

As White makes plain, Holmes, famed as a legal historian, was no worshiper of history; he repeatedly declared that to know the history of a legal rule is not to know its present value. "The past," he said in a typical passage, "gives us our vocabulary and fixes the limit of our imagination... but the present has a right to govern itself so far as it can; and it ought to be remembered that historic continuity with the past is not a duty, it is only a necessity." I suggest that those remarks are strongly reminiscent of the following, uttered by Bentham, who, contrary to the common impression, also had considerable competence as a legal historian: "The past is of no value but by the influence it preserves over the present and the future.... Let us reflect that our first concern is to learn how things that are in our power ought to be." And Bentham, one of the founders of legal semantics, surely inspired Holmes's brilliant practice of that art. In sum, Holmes's so-called "legal realism" owed a huge debt to Bentham and Austin.

White explains that when his five subjects grew older their views became more divergent. In particular, Beard, during his last period, published articles expressing doubts concerning the dispassionateness of history writing. He indicated that all such writing, because it unavoidably reflects the prejudices of the several historians, is incurably subjective and therefore largely undependable as objective reporting of the past. White, discussing this phase of Beard's career, does not, I think, do him justice. For one thing, it took courage for Beard to publicize those doubts, since he thus offended many historians and made suspect his own earlier, widely read works in the field of history. True, White justifiably points to some confusion in Beard's exposition of the source of those doubts—a confusion which I suspect derived in part from Beard's semiconscious feeling that bias would be ascribed to his "historical" preachments, also published in his last period, against the activities of F. D. R. from 1937 to Pearl Harbor. But White fails to observe that other eminent historians—for instance, Pirenne, Collingwood, and Carl Becker—maintained, without Beard's confusion, the inability of anyone, in-

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"I FOUND THE BOOK FASCINATING," writes the dean of McCormick Theological Seminary (Dr. Ovid R. Sellers). "It is particularly clear in pointing out the Jewish motivation on the part of the Pentateuchal Priestly writers in playing down the traditions which showed the priority of Ephraim. It brings into new highlight the earlier predominance of Ephraim and the manipulation of the literary material by the later scribes of Judah in discounting the north to the advantage of the south." And Dr. Sellers adds, "Carrying the book with me on a railroad journey, I became so absorbed that I took it into my berth and finished it at three in the morning."

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cluding a historian of ideas like White, to free himself of prejudices in describing the past. It is worth noting that, with the exception of Dewey in an occasional passage, the other thinkers considered in this volume lacked the courage to face this problem of the historian's objectivity, and that had they done so they might well have doubted the validity of some of their own fundamental tenets.

This book, then, is not flawless. But unquestionably it deserves, and should win, a wide audience.

JEROME FRANK

The Land of Know-how

BACKGROUNDS OF POWER. The Human Story of Mass Production. By Roger Burlingame. Charles Scribner's Sons. $5.

EVERYBODY knows that the United States is the storehouse of "know-how" and mass production; many believe that it is now the American mission to teach these arts of plenty to the less fortunate and backward nations. Roger Burlingame, who has written other books about invention, here undertakes to tell us how we got that way.

Technical proficiency was not written into the Mayflower pact or the Declaration of Independence; it was not mentioned in the Bill of Rights. The common superstition that all modern improvements are characteristically American—or that Thomas Alva Edison was the greatest inventor of all time—is as fantastic as the current Soviet propaganda that all important discoveries were made in Russia. Britain, France, and Sweden were far ahead of the early American Republic in both science and technology; they were well along in the Industrial Revolution when Alexander Hamilton wrote of the desirability of encouraging an as yet nonexistent manufacture in the United States. Designs of machines were stolen by Americans from Britishers who strove to keep them secret, and immigrants with sufficient skill to operate them were smuggled across the Atlantic.

Even Eli Whitney, the Connecticut Yankee who unintentionally fastened slavery on the South with his cotton gin, did not get the chance to complete his first application of mass production—the manufacture of a government order for muskets through machine production of interchangeable parts—until President Jefferson remembered having heard of the same principle from a French experimenter before the Revolution, and gave the deciding word. It is not one of the least ironies of history that Jefferson, who favored an agrarian economy and distrusted cities, thus early tipped the American balance in favor of an industrial civilization.

But it was many a long year before mass production was used for much except firearms. In this violent and militaristic nation the shining example of the discovery right up to the Civil War was the Colt revolver. Mass-produced rifles, together with the McCormick reaper, which more than incidentally helped to fill the bellies of the Northern armies, were the only striking American contributions to the great London exhibition at the Crystal Palace in the 1850's, held to signalize internationalism and a future Parliament of the World.

Burlingame is a good enough historian not only to tell these and many other enlightening details of the story but to indicate that there is much in the record besides clever invention and good management. The American distances, the great resources of a virgin continent, relatively high wages, a tendency to uniformity, less emphasis than in the Old World on discriminating tastes, the assumption of social equality, all helped the rapid growth of high productivity and the markets on which it rests. Wasteful individualism, competition run riot, prejudice, fraud, and fantastic finance in part retarded the development. He makes it clear that scientific discovery, invention, and technical advance, though dependent on gifted individuals, are essentially cooperative in origin, that they are international in scope, and that the use made of them depends on the kind of society in which they flourish. Also that they create grave problems and resistances. That is as far as he goes, but so far, so good.

Obviously we are not trying to keep our secret, as did the early British manufacturers. But does the will to export our culture have any better chance of success than their desire not to export theirs? Maybe others will take what they want from us and leave the rest. Maybe they will in the end learn a know-how of their own which suits them better than ours. A little American modesty in this matter would not be unbecoming.

GEORGE SOULE

The Bead Game

MAGISTER LUDI. By Hermann Hesse. Henry Holt and Company. $5.

PERHAPS the most remarkable thing about Hermann Hesse's altogether extraordinary novel is the gravity it allows to individual decision. We have had in recent years a spate of fiction dealing, as does "Magister Ludi," with the aberrational future. If all these novels have a common flaw, which "Magister Ludi" does not share, it is that they seem patronizing: "No," we say, "no matter what a mess we humans are, we'd never really get ourselves into quite that kind of fix." But Castalia, the community of the future that Hesse envisions, and that his hero, Joseph Knecht, ultimately rejects, is not a nightmare of the machine and atom but a society of the mind, the liberated intellect, and though it is also a kind of prison in which the captive spirit atrophies, it is none the less an angelic prison and, significantly, one its inmates are free to leave at will.

The Age of the Digest, our own age, virtually destroyed itself because "no one had any moderately resolute moral code to oppose the unrest and dynamism of the monstrously rapid increase in populations." In the course of the depraved wars that followed one another, wars fought to be sure in "a certain robust good faith, a certain idealism as it was called in those days," all the institutions of the intellect so deteriorated that a university professor

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in the Republic of the Massagetes is reputed to have said, "The sum total of twice two is not for the faculty to determine but for his Highness the General"! But a reaction set in, and people came to associate the meanness and deprivation of their lives with their lack of intellectual capacity.

A group of devoted men began the formation of a community named Castalia, a system of élite schools and faculties into which the best students of the common schools were fed: where, if they survived certain years of rigid schooling and examination, they might remain celibate and dedicated scholars all their lives, pursuing subjects of their own choosing until they took some office in the Castalian hierarchy; or from which they could return to the world and its professions. And indeed Castalia did help to accomplish that elevation of society which had been hoped for, both indirectly by its example and directly by the trained men and the knowledge it made available to the world.

The highest discipline and most respected faculty of Castalia are associated with the Bead Game, a game of symbol, association, and meditation which encompasses through its musical-mathematical form all of knowledge, demonstrating the *Universitas Litterarum*, and leaving the player at the end "with the feeling of having resolved the fortuitous and chaotic world into one that is symmetrical and harmonious." But when the orphan Joseph Knecht is admitted into Castalia and becomes in time its Magister Ludi, the chief official of the Bead Game, Castalia, is already in its decline. Knecht along among its denizens realizes this —the impermanence that man's institutions share with man himself. Castalia takes more from the world outside than it gives. That world may soon again be immersed in some dark age—in which Castalia itself will be lost. Knecht feels himself summoned from Castalia to a more direct relation with the suffering of the world, and so gives up his position of honor and pure life to become a modest tutor in the world, and shortly to be destroyed by drowning.

"Magister Ludi" is as rich in meditation, symbol, and allusion as the Bead Game itself, and like it creates a state of knowledge rather than those simpler ends and answers that the conquest of lesser books and puzzles provides. Any careful reader will note the overt and interior suggestions of Kafka, so that Joseph Knecht becomes Joseph K [necht] and Castalia becomes The Castle. But in addition *Knecht* in German means "serf" or "thrall," and might in English become the name "Burden" that Faulkner and Warren have both used. And Castalia can also be Castile, a region noted for its linguistic purity. One could also profitably pursue a comparison of this novel with Mann's "Doctor Faustus," the preoccupation with the Bead Game matched against that with Schönberg's twelve-tone system of music, and Hesse's own twice-made contrast between the Castalian will to knowledge and the will to knowledge of Faust. The death by water encompasses at least sexual symbol, self-immolation, and the tracklessness of human existence. Yet each key is not *the* key, but only access to another region in the immense geography of Hesse's vision.

There is nothing elusive about the judgment of the book—that there is no exclusive life for man, no life that rejects life in any part, whatever its attendant compensations. To reduce the novel to its judgment, however, is to fracture its wholeness, and practice an intellectual arrogance akin to that of the Castalians themselves. Much more important than any message the reader can cull from this book is the whole experience of humility he can know before its greatness. If there is a final defect in "Magister Ludi," it is that the noble sorrow of Designori, the advocate of the world, never manages intrinsically to overbalance the tranquillity of the great Castalians, of Knecht's patron, the Music Master, or of the Oriental scholar, Elder Brother. But to throw one's lot with man is an act as much of necessity as of reason, and the yearning for a son and heir of the flesh that is suffered by Knecht—and by the Rainmaker, Dasa, and Dion, three creatures of Knecht's literary imagination—is an undeniable reminder of this necessity.

MONROE ENGEL

History Through Biography

RALEIGH AND THE BRITISH EMPIRE. By D. B. Quinn. The Macmillan Company. $2.

WARREN HASTINGS AND BRITISH INDIA. By Penderel Moon. Macmillan. $2.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN AND THE UNITED STATES. By K. C. Weare. Macmillan. $2.

CONSTANTINE AND THE CONVERSION OF EUROPE. By A. H. M. Jones. Macmillan. $2.

THOMAS JEFFERSON AND AMERICAN DEMOCRACY. By Max Beloff. Macmillan. $2.

PERICLES AND ATHENS. By A. R. Burn. Macmillan. $2.

THE Teach Yourself History Library is a large-scale enterprise which promises to compress world history from Pericles to Smuts into an announced forty volumes. Expressly designed for popular consumption, the series is, in the words of the editor, A. L. Rowse, "intended to bring the university into the home." Prime agent of this welcome bit of house-breaking is biography. For though the volumes are short and sometimes excessively simple, and though they contain explanatory tables and selected bibliographies,

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they are mainly distinguished as an attempt to enliven and explain great events by the lives of great men.

The difficulties of such elucidation are unfortunately quite apparent in the latest instalment of Mr. Rowse's project. Some developments are so laboriously slow and so much the product of the common energies of obscure men that biographical treatment must necessarily yield something less than the whole truth. That something is, as a matter of fact, well represented in two studies of the British Empire, "Raleigh and the British Empire" by D. B. Quinn and "Warren Hastings and British India" by Penderel Moon. Both books are competently written by excellent scholars, but the effect is spoiled and the reading dulled by intruding paragraphs on important Indian and American affairs in which the influence of Hastings and Raleigh respectively was remote indeed. Accordingly, Quinn's able portrait of Raleigh as the publicist of empire and Moon's effective salving of the sting of Burke's rhetoric are encumbered. In each case good biography is sacrificed to mediocre history.

A sacrifice of a different order, where good history gives way to indifferent biography, is involved in K. C. Weare's volume. For though Lincoln's career is surely an interesting affair, its connection with the great world of American politics begins only with the Kansas-Nebraska bill. Therefore despite Weare's adequate account of Lincoln's life, his treatment of American history from 1809 to 1854 is necessarily meager. Mr. Weare, furthermore, succumbs to the lure of heroic history and, impressed by the will power and insight of a great man, tends to minimize those social and economic forces that establish historical direction.

A better example of this almost inevitable tendency is furnished by A. H. M. Jones's "Constantine and the Conversion of Europe." Constantine was a public man from the age of fifteen, and as Burckhardt has demonstrated, he is an ideal subject for a historico-biographical study. Mr. Jones, of course, makes full use of Constantine's almost complete political involvement, but he is so fascinated by the character of his hero that he neglects to mention any of the social pressures underlying the move to Constantinople, the Nicene struggle, and the Donatist controversy. In addition, Mr. Jones is not entirely reliable in his explanation of Constantine's conversion. He does point out the absurdity of attributing calculating rationality to a representative of a superstitious age. But he is somewhat credulous himself in following the Christian apologetics of Lactantius and Eusebius, and after admitting Constantine's susceptibilities to hallucination Jones goes to extreme lengths in trying to pass off the Milvian miracle as a meteorological phenomenon.

Nevertheless, despite the temptations of heroic or biographical distortion, two of Mr. Rowse's authors have managed to write superb volumes incorporating wit, wisdom, and information. The first of the able gentlemen is Max Beloff, whose "Thomas Jefferson and American Democracy" is a worthwhile addition to a field already crowded with good books. Beloff sees Jefferson as a synthesis of eighteenth-century ideals and frontier experience. By dint of magnificent artistry Beloff is able to weave the thread of Jefferson's career into the tapestry of local, national, and international affairs so that history and biography are successfully merged.

The two are equally well combined in A. R. Burn's "Pericles and Athens." This book is actually an analytic study of fifth-century Athenian political and economic history in which Pericles appears as a Greek New Dealer pushing a full-employment program in an era between two wars. Mr. Burn seems to be a thorough devotee of the economic interpretation of history, and his mind is so refreshingly sophisticated and his knowledge so broad that his book constitutes in itself a recommendation for his method—a method once popular but which now seems to be giving way to a type of psychological history where passions spin the plot. The lesson of Mr. Burn's success, like the lesson of many of his colleagues' failures, is that it is still too early to discard economic history. As yet no one knows enough about human affairs to discount such a plausible explanation of their motivation.

JOSEPH KRAFT

Wild Geese—or Television

A SAND COUNTY ALMANAC AND SKETCHES HERE AND THERE. By Aldo Leopold. Oxford University Press. $3.50.

ALDO LEOPOLD, who died in 1948 while fighting a grass fire in Wisconsin, had spent his life working in forestry and wildlife management for the government, for the Sporting Arms Institute, and, finally, for the University of Wisconsin. The little essays which compose this volume were originally published in such obscure places as the *Journal of Forestry* and the *Wisconsin Agriculturist and Farmer*. Certainly they ought to get now a much wider audience, for Mr. Leopold is a nature writer who has both an original sensibility and a special humorous awareness of the paradoxes of conservation.

There are some who can live without wild things, and some who cannot. These essays are the delights and dilemmas of one who cannot. . . . Wild things were taken for granted until progress began to do away with them. Now we face the question whether a still higher "standard of living" is worth its cost in things natural, wild, and free. For us of the minority the opportunity to see geese is more important than television, and the chance to find a pasque flower is a right as inalienable as free speech.

These wild things, I admit, had little human value until mechanization assured us a good breakfast, and until science disclosed the drama of where they come from and how they live. The

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whole conflict thus boils down to a question of degree. We of the minority see a law of diminishing returns in progress; our opponents do not.

The section from which the volume takes its name is a round-the-year account of Mr. Leopold's own outdoor life. Most of the other essays turn around the problem he has stated. Progress, he says, seems to be the exchange of one good for another; education the learning of some things at the cost of forgetting others. Conservation is an attempt to minimize the effects of reckless exploitation, but it can only minimize. We raise ducks so they can be shot; build roads to invite people into new solitudes—which vanish as soon as the invitation is accepted. "Bureaus build roads into new hinterlands, then buy more hinterlands to absorb the exodus accelerated by the roads." The therapeutic value of wildness and solitude is celebrated, and "recreation has become a self-destructive process of seeking but never quite finding, a major frustration of mechanized society." Contemplation is the only outdoor "activity" which does not destroy the very things which make outdoor activity worth while, and contemplation is certainly the least popular hobby.

No one could be less fanatical, more moderate, or more reasonable than Mr. Leopold. Obviously he went about his business in the best way he knew. But it is equally obvious that he had an uncomfortable feeling that he could never see very far ahead, and the discouraging suspicion that he was doing no more than fight a rear-guard action.

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

More About Rilke

RILKE AND BENVENUTA. By Magda von Hattingberg. W. W. Norton and Company. $3.

HERE is a not quite unilateral account of an idyl, or incident, of Rilke's middle years, pathetic or ludicrous, enlightening or exasperating, depending on your sympathies and your mood at the moment. In January of 1914 the narrator, having just read the author's "Geschichten vom lieben Gott," wrote him a fan letter, to which he replied with a precipitate profusion that seems out of all proportion to anything but a desperate need. The correspondence continued; he was presently calling her Benvenuta; they met in March, spent time together in Berlin, Paris, Duino, and Venice; parted in May. Exactly what happened is impossible to educe from the clouds of language, sentimental German at its thickest, reverence, coyness, delusion, who knows what, with which Frau, Fräulein (?) von Hattingberg invests the tale. But for all that, we do see him here, an encouraging figure sometimes by the very virtue of his colossal fatuousness and a discouraging one at others in his humility, innocence, dedication, and devotion. And there is one memorable picture of the poet as seen through the eyes and understanding of his patroness, Princess Marie of Thurn and Taxis, which reveals, if the Hattingberg chronicle is trustworthy, not only the character of the poet but the wisdom of the princess. The general mawkishness of the book is pretty formidable, but never mind; it is about Rilke, and it is not mean-spirited.

Rilke's own early and major work of prose, "The Notebooks of Malta Laurids Brigge," has recently been issued in translation by M. D. Herter Norton (Norton, $3.50). This is a considerably revised translation of the work published nearly twenty years ago, under the title of "The Journal of My Other Self," now out of print, translated by Mrs. Norton and John Linton. The new volume, of course, should be added to the library of every reader who is interested in Rilke.

ROLFE HUMPHRIES

Drama

MARGARET MARSHALL

ANITA LOOS, Oliver Smith, and Agnes de Mille are all talented people, but the creative spark is only intermittently kindled in the elaborate, "professional," and noisy musical show "Gentlemen Prefer Blondes." The *pièce de résistance* of the production is Carol Channing, and she is quite a piece. Miss Channing is a big gawky girl, here shown with close-cropped platinum hair and staring bella-donnesque eyes, whose capers in those awful sexless clothes of the twenties are fearsome as well as funny and whose rendering of the best of her songs, A Little Girl from Little Rock—the one about the man who done her wrong—is hilarious. Especially her pronunciation of the word "wrong." She is being hailed as a comedienne of parts, and she may be. It is hard to judge at the moment because so far she has appeared only in one part, her burlesque of the girl of the twenties; and we won't be able to judge for several years, for she is obviously destined to be Lorelei, guarding her "rocks," for a thousand and one nights.

Lorelei is played entirely as burlesque. And only in one scene is Miss Channing given a chance to do much talking. This seems to me a mistake, since it was through Lorelei's talk—to her diary—that Miss Loos created the character. Lorelei's girl friend, Dorothy, has been turned into a rather stock musical-comedy heroine who marries the tenor. The "dinumont," as Lorelei might have written it, has been greatly altered, with the aim, apparently, of making the piece as much like any other musical comedy as possible. A poor aim, but a common one.

The dances, in general, are uninspired—the silly scene in the Bois, dance and all, could well be eliminated. Nobody could be more limber and lithe than Anita Alvarez, but her numbers seemed to me tiresome and tiring.

The whole cast is good, and much too hard-working. Surely some of the voices in the chorus should be toned down. The singing often becomes plain screaming.

I suspect that Wolcott Gibbs has assured "Clutterbuck" (Biltmore Theater) a much longer run than it would otherwise have had by declaring that Arthur Margetson is "at the moment the most accomplished satirist on the stage." I didn't find him that good, though he is assuredly a skilful per-

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former. The other members of the cast are also very competent. If they were not, they could not make even as much as they do of a play whose lightness often becomes as heavy as lead. "Clutterbuck" is in the line of "Private Lives." Perhaps I can sum up my impression of it by saying that Benn W. Levy, who wrote it, is no Coward.

Music

B. H. HAGGIN

THE complete Stravinsky score for the ballet "Pulcinella" was performed for the first time here by Robert Craft at a concert of his Chamber Art Society; and I was astonished to hear not only how charming a piece it is, but with what discretion it treats the Pergolesi music—except for the notorious trombone glissandos, which certainly get their laughs, but only as the sudden intrusion of one of the raucous devices of Strauss's "Till Eulenspiegel" into Mozartian high comedy would.

The other major Stravinsky work on the program was "Persephone." On the two previous occasion when I heard it I quoted Stravinsky's statement that he had wanted from Gide not words, which were "a cumbersome intermediate" for the musician, but "syllables—beautiful, strong syllables"; and I remarked that I found it difficult to see from his use of them what Stravinsky wanted Gide's syllables for. I found, that is, that "when he sets the words to music he perverts not only their sense but their very shape by the rhythm; and when he has them spoken their sonority and elegance are in conflict with the crabbed music that accompanies them." And even this time, although the choral writing seemed to me a particularly impressive example of the style I have come to understand and enjoy, I was struck again by the incompatibility of that austere style with the luxuriant French declamatory sonority of the Gide words spoken by Vera Zorina.

There were also a couple of smaller pieces—the Four Etudes for orchestra, which I thought pretty poor stuff, and the early cantata "Roi des etoiles," which I no longer recall clearly. But I do recall the performances that Craft produced of all this unfamiliar and difficult music with only a couple of rehearsals of an assembled orchestra, the Princeton University Chapel and Bryn Mawr Choirs, and Sara Carter, William Hess, and Leon Lishner. And what I recall is that they were an amazing achievement.

At a later concert of the New York Wind Ensemble Craft conducted a performance of Stravinsky's opera bouffe "Mavra." It was sung—by Phyllis Curtin, Sandra Wakefield, Arline Carmen, and Robert Harmon—in English; and statements like "She is a lovely girl" or "Everything is so expensive" struck the audience as terrifically funny. To me they were no funnier than they would have been in Russian; and no humor was imparted to them by the music.

"Mavra" was preceded by the Wind Ensemble's arrangement of Monteverdi's "Orfeo," from which it would be unfair to derive any idea or judgment of the work.

It took Flagstad's voice, at her recent recital, half the program to warm up to its best condition; which meant that the greatest song on the program, Schubert's "Nacht und Träume," was the worst-sung—with sustained tones that were shrill, edged, afflicted with tremolo, and sagging in pitch. But it was applauded as hysterically as the phenomenal singing in the later groups of songs by Scandinavian composers and Richard Strauss—the long sequences of lustrous, luscious middle and low tones, and occasional high tones of breathtaking power and beauty—with only the less powerful high tones lacking sensuous beauty or actually shrill or edged.

Unfortunately, I could hear only the first half of Stignani's recital, in which the voice remained cold and tremolo-ridden, and there were only momentary appearances—e.g., in the quiet phrases of *Non mi dir* from "Don Giovanni"—of the luscious mezzo-soprano tones she had produced last year after the nervousness of the opening group. But the musical style of her singing was again most impressive.

At Franz Rupp's piano recital one heard a remarkable gain in technical mastery of his instrument—in the accuracy of fast passage-work, the clarity of texture, the beauty of sound; and also a remarkable gain in musical continuity. What was lacking in the performances was the impress of style—possibly what they would have had if he had been playing these solo works for the twenty-five years he has been playing the piano parts of songs and instrumental chamber music. And it may be that Rupp, with his style of personal warmth and intimacy, will not even after twenty-five years be able to achieve the powerful tensions and monumental projection required by late Beethoven, or the objectivity required by Debussy. But that style should produce wonderful performances of Schubert and Chopin.

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Letters to the Editors

Is It Stupidity?

Dear Sirs: Freda Kirchwey's editorial, Soviet Tactics and Soviet Fears, in your issue of December 10 suggests a question. She says that Russia's international policy is based on the desire to avoid war, fear of encirclement and attack from the West, and the conviction that capitalism must collapse. She asserts that if this statement of Russian policy is correct, the tactics of Russian officials in the United Nations and elsewhere become *intelligible*. Then she marshals evidence to show that the tactics are not *intelligent*. Vishinsky did not "argue his case like a man who is trying to win it." The Russians "should be warned that they are going about it the wrong way." In short, says Miss Kirchwey, the Russians are at every major point destroying their own position and working against their own goals.

Stupid! Just plain stupid! Someone should tell them! My question is: Can this be merely stupidity? It is hard to believe. If men who have in so many ways demonstrated acute and driving intelligence furnish us with such a long list of actions that must defeat their own purposes, one is forced to one of two conclusions. Either their intentions are not, after all, what "the best authorities on Soviet intentions" suppose them to be, or there is something in their basic Marxian ideology that renders them incapable of seeing plain facts and judging the probable reaction to their proposals. HERMAN F. REISSIG

New York, December 9

Saludos Amigos

Dear Sirs: Having read Bernard Mishkin's brilliant piece on South America ["Good Neighbors"—Fact and Fancy, *The Nation*, November 26], I am writing to you because I thought maybe you—and some of your readers—might like to have the reactions of a simple nobody who happened to be born in South America.

1. A White Paper on South America should certainly be issued. Mr. Mishkin himself should be requested to help prepare it. I am positive that the paper would contribute a lot to the proper understanding by South Americans of "the American Way." We South Americans would also appreciate having a Black Paper, a Rainbow Paper—as a matter of fact, even a Pink Paper might be allowed to sneak in. These papers would explain to us the Philippine Way, the French Way, and maybe the Navajo Way. Come to think of it, the color and charm of our Creole life could certainly take some hints from, say, the Harlem Way.

2. Yes, we should simply love to see large amounts of capital poured into our laps. Hooray! Let's finance a year-round carnival with it!

3. Balancing our economies? Mr. Mishkin, you're adorable! Go ahead, please. Balance them. Shoot the works.

4. No, we won't be happy about this business of safeguarding American investments, no, sir. We are landowners, military, and churchmen, every one of us. We won't think of Mr. Mishkin's suggestion that we have to be—possibly—coerced. Perhaps, however, if he offered us some greenbacks —who knows?—we might come to a gentleman's agreement, just between ourselves. Eh? JOSÉ SILVA

Lake Success, N. Y., December 1

Aid for Prisoners

Dear Sirs: This Christmas the Prisoners' Aid Bureau of the Workers' Defense League again plans to send gifts of cash to men imprisoned because of labor activity, color, or conscience. The money will not only enable them to buy cigarettes, candy, and other items but, more important, let them know that we on the outside have not forgotten them.

Last year we were able to send $10 apiece and in some cases books as well to sixteen men in federal, state, and local prisons. They included three members of the Seafarers' International Union, A. F. L., doing life in Maryland on charges growing out of the 1946 seamen's strike in Baltimore; Negro soldiers unjustly court-martialed because of their color; and conscientious objectors sentenced under the 1948 draft law. This year we again want to remember such men and also Clarence Jackson, whose extradition from New York to Georgia is now being fought by the league.

Christmas is the hardest of all times to be in prison. Readers of *The Nation* can help these men to bear their separation from family and friends in the approaching season by sending a check or postal order, payable to Dr. George S. Counts, to the Prisoners' Aid Bureau, Workers' Defense League, 112 East Nineteenth Street, New York 3.

ROWLAND WATTS,
National Secretary,
Workers' Defense League

New York, December 15

Lid on a Teapot?

Dear Sirs: Returning from a trip to Europe, I find myself involved in a tempest in a teapot which seems to have blown up concerning the cuts made in Father Dunne's articles in *America* in the process of transforming them into a pamphlet (see *The Nation*, November 5 and 26). As the actual wielder of the blue pencil I should like to state the facts. It so happens that I was alone in knowing exactly what was done.

The text I submitted to the New York archdiocesan authorities—the text which received Cardinal Spellman's imprimatur—was the complete text of Father Dunne's seven articles—without any cuts. The Cardinal's censor made no cuts at all.

I was opposed to making any cuts in the articles, and did so with considerable reluctance in order to bring the pamphlet down to our regular forty-eight pages. In the cutting process I consulted no one's judgment but my own. After the cuts were made, I asked my assistant, a lady of considerable editorial experience, to run over them to see if I had preserved the flow of Father Dunne's argument. This is the sum total of consultation or advice I sought in doing the job.

As far as possible I confined the cuts to paragraphs or sentences which contained only amplification or confirmation of positions already stated or implied by Father Dunne.

CHARLES KEENAN, S.J.,
Managing Editor, *America*

New York, December 7

[We cannot but accept Father Keenan's *mea culpa*; we do, however, question his judgment in selecting for

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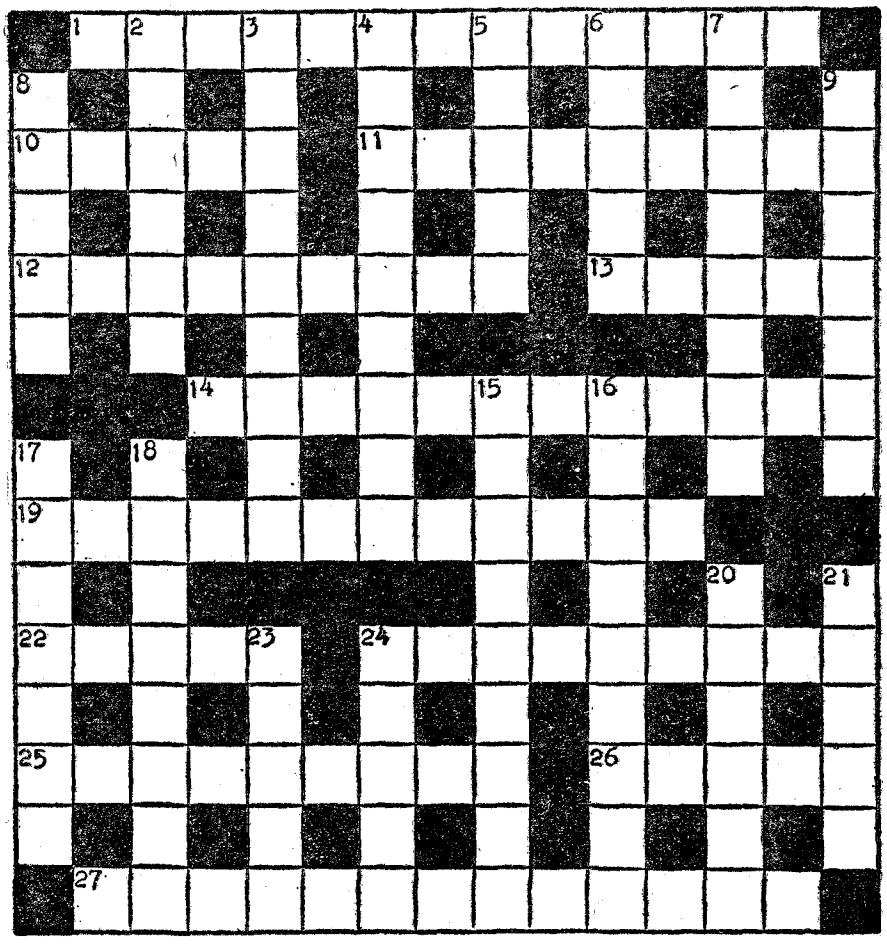
Crossword Puzzle No. 342

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 Read from top to bottom. (13)
10 Ugly Shakespearian jewel-containers. (5)
11 Pettish anger about the tribal mess. (9)
12 Must take lots of nerve to study. (9)
13 18 ailments. (5)
14 Worst. (3, 3, 4, 2)
19 and 8 down. Only the blameless should. (4, 3, 5, 5)
22 Bears' tails. (5)
24 Should go straight to the bottom of the matter. (9)
25 A country put me back in front. (9)
26 The reverse of gave out? (5)
27 Recovered from routed helpers. (13)

DOWN

2 If you see the light, the clue isn't. (6)
3 Very unfair, coming from hedonists. (9)
4 and 20. Pleasing, usual form of, gives classical equivalent. (4, 2, 3, 6)
5 Breakfast-loving bird. (5)
6 The last one means to the end. (5)
7 In France it obliges. (8)
8 See 19.
9 Wax poetic. (7)
15 Travelers streaming from home. (9)
16 Ex. (9)
17 Beware such a woman. (7)
18 Like Captain Kidd? (8)
20 See 4.
21 Express a condition. (5)
23 Characteristic mark of most amphibians. (5)
24 Friend in France, go to the friend in Spain. (5)

* * *

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 341

ACROSS:—1 RAIN-CHECK; 6 and 13 HEADSTONE; 9 SABINES; 10 ADMIRER; 11 RHO; 12 EIFFEL; 15 CEMETERY; 16 BALTIC; 18 ESCROW; 20 LANDSEER; 23 KNIT; 24 MANTEL; 25 GOA; 28 EFFENDI; 29 and 3 A BONE OF CONTENTION; 30 NINTH; 31 FIELD-GOAL.

DOWN:—1 RISER; 2 IN BLOOM; 4 ENSIFORM; 5 KNAVES; 6 HYMN; 7 AIRPORT; 8 STREET-CAR; 14 SANDALWOOD; 15 CHECK-REIN; 17 TARTRATES; 19 CHIFFON; 21 EL GRECO; 22 TARIFF; 26 AWFUL; 27 INCH.

Readers are invited to send for a free copy of Mr. Lewis's "ground rules." Address requests to Puzzle Dept., The Nation, 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, New York

deletion from the pamphlet those paragraphs from Father Dunne's *America* articles which to a degree criticized Roman Catholic practices. This curious fact is, after all, at the center of the "teapot tempest," and neither Father Keenan nor Father Dunne in an earlier letter has chosen to discuss it.—EDITORS THE NATION.]

A Good Critic

Dear Sirs: Don't allow any yelps about Rolfe Humphries to keep you from printing everything in verse or prose that you can get from him. At times he may be a little capricious, but he is usually dead right and he is always delightful. And one of the best poets still alive. GEORGE GENZMER

Groton, Mass., November 29

A Bad Critic?

Dear Sirs: Having allowed one of your reviewers to deliver a savage attack upon a writer several thousand miles away, you will also, I trust, allow the victim to reply—now that, almost seven weeks after the event, he has seen your issue of October 15, with its so-called review of my "English: A Course for Human Beings."

What is wrong with that reviewer, Jacques Barzun? Having never heard of him, I cannot decide whether he is young enough to know everything or old enough to have forgotten it. Certainly he has failed to realize that such an attack will probably prejudice far more readers against him than against me. I find myself incapable of dealing, in general, with so implacable a spitting of venom. May I, however, pass a few remarks about a few particular charges?

Your reviewer condescendingly admits that "A Dictionary of Slang and Unconventional English" has its merits; but even there he has to carp at asterisks used, not to frustrate *him*, but merely to prevent the book from being suppressed.

Who is this mighty Professor of English or this remarkable writer or this famous publicist that he should utterly condemn "Usage and Abusage: A Guide to Good English"? That it contains a few mistakes I admit; so does every book ever published; even those which, so far as I can discover, your reviewer has omitted to write—or, at least, to persuade someone to publish. But "Usage and Abusage" can hardly be even one-tenth so bad as this

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Zoïlus implies, for it is in its fourth American as well as in its fourth English edition and has sold a tolerable number of copies. It must infuriate the reviewer to learn that many students and others—some of them with a reputation much greater than his—prefer "Usage and Abusage" to Fowler's "Modern English Usage," not because it is a better book (I have no such pretensions) but because it is less academic, less severe, less remote.

The reviewer then bespatters that light-hearted little book "A Dictionary of Clichés," soon to appear in its fourth edition, a book conceived in jest, borne mirthfully, and born, undismayed, during the early days of the London blitz.

He then proceeds to demolish, entirely to his own satisfaction, "English: A Course for Human Beings." Clearly the reviewer's sense of humor, if he has one, is warped; he was determined to miss the point of that odd title and to misunderstand almost everything he read.

May I, finally, suggest that this reviewer should, before he attacks scholars, prove his own scholarship; that before he imputes an inability to write, he should himself learn how to write, and that before he sets up as a judge, he should learn to be a good juryman.

ERIC PARTRIDGE

London, December 1

A Calm Critic

Dear Sirs: I am much obliged for the opportunity you offer me of answering Mr. Partridge's protest against my review of his book. But since I can find in the protest no evidence that he takes up a single point of intellectual importance, and since I decline to follow him in the sport of bandying personalities, my rejoinder must remain, in contrast with his, short and sweet.

JACQUES BARZUN

New York, December 6

Aiken? Morse? Flanders?

Dear Sirs: I have just completed my tenth year of personal knowledge of *The Nation*. I read it more thoroughly than any other periodical, although the *New Yorker* is still my favorite. Life is too serious to take seriously. Yet *The Nation* is to me a *primum desideratum*. However, while it makes a great point of upholding the rights of minorities, I can hardly recall that it has ever said a good word for a Republican. Is that nice?

FORREST F. HARBOUR

Mansfield, Mass., December 8

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